The EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM

with Special Reference to the Position of Ali, during the

LIFE OF

THE HOLY PROPHET MOHAMMED

AND AFTER

BY

SAIYID SAFDAR HOSAIN.

An Impartial Review of the Early Islamic Period

COMPILED

FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

References profusely given and freely quoted in-extenso

Intended to supply a Long Felt Need to educate the Moslem Youth in the elements of Islamic History and to arouse his interest for a deeper study of the subject.

IN TWO VOLUMES

Vol. II.

LUCKNOW·

Printed at the English Printing Press, Lucknow.

Published by Saiyid Safdar Hosain, Govt. Pensioner, near Orphanage, Golaganj, Lucknow.

1933.

Vol. II.

THE FIRST FOUR SUCCESSORS
of
THE HOLY PROPHET MOHAMMED.

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The Prophet's successors. Abubekr, the First Caliph.

"Ali was cousin-german of Mohammed and husband of Fátema, his beloved daughter. The right of succession, in order of consanguinity, lay with Ali; and his virtues and services eminently entitled him to it. On the first burst of his generous zeal, when Islamism was a derided and persecuted faith, he had been pronouuced by Mohammed his brother, his vicegerent; he had ever since been devoted to him in word and deed, and had honoured the cause by his magnanimity as signally as he had vindicated it by his valour." *W. Irving*

"The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Tálib was, in his own right, the Chief of the family of Háshim, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct, but the husband of Fátema might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father: the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the Prophet had often been fondled in his lap and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the Chief of the youth of paradise. From the first hour of his Mission to the last rites of his funeral, the Apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses." *Gibbon abridged by W. Smith, p. 466.*

The merits of Ali and the language of the Apostle of Alláh in his favour had roused the envy of his contemporaries; and the hereditary claims of the youthful hero, over and above the Prophet's declarations appointing him his vicegerent and proclaiming his position as that of Aaron to Moses, were not agreeable to an aristocracy of the elders desirous of securing the sceptre for themselves. The pre-eminence of the Háshimites, which had reached its zenith with the advent of Mohammed (Peace on him and his holy

progeny), was anxiously longed for to be crushed. The death of the Prophet restored, at length, their liberty and the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled. In after days Omar confessed that the Qoreish could never be reconciled to the proud † pre-eminence of the line of Háshim. So they were all bent upon wresting from Ali the chance of his succession to the Apostle of Alláh, thus destroying the pre-eminence of the Háshimites. As soon as the Prophet's eyes were closed, without even waiting to commit him to the grave, they convened a meeting at Saqifa Bani Sá'da to deliberate on the election of one to assume the authority in place of the Prophet, and thus to deprive Ali of his right of succession.

The election at Saqifa Bani Sa'da.

While the unsuspecting vicegerent of the Apostle of Alláh was busy with the arrangements for his burial, the Mohájirs of Mecca and the Ansárs of Medina were parading their respective merits at the Saqifa. The Mohájirs claimed preference in view of their priority in Islam, their kinship with the Prophet, and their immigration with him at the manifest hazard of their life and property. The Ansárs urged that they had as much right as any others whatsoever, on account of their receiving the Prophet in his escape from his Meccan enemies, of protecting him in the time of adversity, and of helping him in making head against his powerful foes, resulting ultimately in the establishment of his paramount power and authority. They even ‡ alleged that they apprehended revenge* if authority

† Ibn Athir Kámil vol. iii p. 25.

‡ Ibn Qoteiba; Ibn Athir; Tabari; Rawdzat-al-Safá.

* "Revenge was almost a religious principle among the Arabs. To revenge a relative .slain was the DUTY of his family, and often involved the honour of his tribe; and these debts of blood sometimes remained unsettled for generations, producing deadly feuds.." *W. Irving*.

Gibbon points out that the Arabs led a life of malice and suspicion while fifty years sometimes elapsed before the account of vengeance was finally settled.

went to the people whose fathers and brothers they had killed in defending the Prophet. [It may be noted here that this is the secret of the Karbala tragedy, which was spoken out by Hobáb, a quick-witted and prudent spokesman of the Ansárs. His fears proved correct with the revengeful massacre of the Prophet's or Ali's posterity at Karbala condemning even a six months' babe, and with the hideous crimes perpetrated in the outrages and the massacre of the Ansárs at Harra.] When Hobáb expressed this view, Omar indignantly retorted: "Thou shouldst die if the Caliphate settled with such people as whom thou fearest."

To refute ‡ the claims of the Ansars, said Omar, I myself wished to deliver a speech which I had particularly planned in my mind—because I presumed ¶ Abubekr would fall short of the occasion—but Abubekr stopped me and I thought it not proper to disobey the Caliph twice* in a day. However, to my great relief, I found him equal to the task. He argued that the Qoreish did not deny the services rendered by the Ansárs to promote the cause of Islam, but with all their meritorious services they should not deem themselves entitled to aspire to the sole authority over the Qoreish. As to the apprehensions spoken out by Hobáb, he added that they need not entertain any such fear, especially when they were offered a hand in the government with their assistance as minister or Wazeir. The Ansárs then said that they would be content to have one Caliph from each of the two parties to exercise † joint authority, and even nominated Sa'd b. Obáda, their leader, to be elected from amongst them. But Abubekr and his party would, by no means, approve of such a proposal, persisting that the government must

‡ Tabari; Ibn Athir; Sirat-al-Halabiya.

¶ Ibn Qoteiba.

*i.e. Once, the same day on the occasion of Abubekr forbidding him to harangue the people at the doors of the Prophet, when he lay dead (see page 274) and again on this occasion.

† Ibn Qoteiba, Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb; Rawdzat-al-Safá.

remain in the hands of the Qoreish, while the Ansárs should content themselve with the Wazirate or Ministry.

Abubekr elected to succeed the Prophet.

The Ansárs not yielding, the contention grew so hot that they were just upon falling to ‡ blows when Abubekr intervened and asked them if they had not heard the Prophet say that 'NONE was apt to exercise authority over the Qoreish BUT one from amongst themselves.' Bashir b. Sa'd, one of the Ansárs who shared the views of the Mohájirs, at once answered in favour of the Mohájirs. Thus encouraged, Abubekr resolutely exclaimed that the Qoreish would not accept any one but a Qoreish to rule over them; and stepping forth, he pointed out Omar and Abu Obeida to the Ansárs to choose either of them as the Caliph. Now the Ansárs began to say that they would prefer paying homage to ¶ Ali, the best of the Qoreish. At this juncture, Omar impatiently cried out: 'Stretch forth thy hand O Abubekr! Verily, I will swear thee allegiance.' Abubekr replied: 'Thou art firmer than I,' and again he repeated it. Omar, † then seizing the hand of Abubekr, said: 'Thou art better fitted than I, and verily thou hast my firmness together with thine own merits, I swear thee allegiance.' Thus Omar declared in a loud voice that he recognised Abubekr as Chief, and took the oath of fealty to him. Abu Obeida and some other Mohájir, who had accompanied them to Saqifa, followed his example. Bashir and another Ansár of his party swore allegiance to Abubekr, and the confusion was now over. Hobáb * had an altercation with Bashir for his traitorous conduct in preferring Abubekr over Sa'd b. Obáda, but at the intercession of certain other Ansárs their warm contention was abated.

Sa'd b. Obáda, the head of the Ansárs, was deeply

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‡ Ibn Athir; Tabari.

¶ Ibn Athir; Tabari (Persian Edn.) Habib-al-Siyar; Rawdzat-al-Safá.

†Tabari, Suyuti.

*Ibn Qoteiba.

chagrined at being thus superseded. He did not pay homage to Abubekr. He subsequently left Medina and retired in disgust to Syria, where, it is said, he was foully ‡ murdered in the time of Omar in *15 A. H.*

Inauguration of Abubekr.

Having received the covenant of allegiance in the Saqifa, Abubekr, when the morrow came, seated himself on the pulpit in the Mosque where the people were made to assemble to swear him a general allegiance and to ratify the allegiance sworn at the Saqifa, in order to preclude a reversion. At the sight of the assemblage, Omar was convinced of Abubekr securing his succession on a firm footing. The next thing was to guard against any serious rupture, which he apprehended on the part of Ali if he presumed to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren in the manner * as Abubekr had his choice at Saqifa. Therefore, before Abubekr would begin his address, Omar was prudent enough to adopt measures to check the rupture—if any—by penalizing with capital punishment each and every one who should do such a thing as Abubekr had yesterday done *i.e.*, suffrage without the consent of all the Mussalmans. Standing by the pulpit, Omar † first addressed the assemblage:

"Notwithstanding that Omar was the first to propose Abubekr to the assembly, and to acknowledge him as Caliph, he did not afterwards approve of that choice, which necessity had suggested at that critical juncture.

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‡Mas'udi, Aqd-al-Farid; Rawdzat-al-Safa.

*1. "The two Sheykhs (Bokhari and Muslim) record that Omar said...........Let not any man deceive himself so as to say that fealty to Abubekr was hastily given—although it was even so—yet the Lord prevented the evil consequences thereof..........." *Major Jarret's trans. of Suiyuti's His. of Cal.*

2. "The urgency of the moment aud the acquiescence of the people might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit, that if any Mussalman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and elected would be worthy of death." *Gibbon.*

† Tabari, Suyuti.

This appears from what he said: That he prayed to God to avert the ill consequences which it was to be feared would follow upon such an indiscreet choice. That the man who should do such a thing would deserve death; and if any one should ever swear fealty to another without the consent of the rest of the Mussalmans, both he that took the government upon him, and he that swore to him ought to be put to death." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 82 from Abulfaragius.*

Omar's address to the assemblage in the Mosque concluded thus: In the words of *Sir W. Muir*: "O ye people! That which I spoke unto ye yesterday was not the truth. Verily I find that it is not borne out by the Book which the Lord had revealed, nor by the Covenant we made with His apostle. As for me, verily, I hoped that the Apostle of the Lord would continue yet a while amongst us and speak in our ears a word such as might seem good unto him and be a perpetual guide unto us. But the Lord hath chosen for His apostle the portion which is with Himself, in preference to that which is with you. And truly the inspired word which directed your Prophet is with us still. Take it therefore for your guide, and ye shall never go astray. And, now, verily, hath the Lord placed the administration of your affairs in the hands of him that is the best amongst us, the Companion of His prophet, the sole companion, the second of the two when they were in the cave alone. Arise! swear fealty to him." *W. Muir's Life of Mohammad.*

NOTE—1. Ibn Abi'l Hadid says: It is held by a large body of the Moslems that the whole policy and the illegal and seemingly precipitate measures adopted by Abubekr and Omar for securing the Caliphate, were a pre-meditated and well formed plan, moulded during the the Prophet's illness when his *bed was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr and the enemy of Ali. Gibbon.* Abubekr was well stricken in years; being about the same age as the Prophet, it was not probable he would long survive. Omar was much younger than Abubekr, he trusted therefore that ere long he would succeed him. It is thus hinted that they had settled between themselves the order in

And the people swore unto Abubekr a general allegiance. Those who had sworne allegiance at the Saqifa ratified their oath.

Abubekr's first address to the people from the pulpit.

"Ibn Sa'd records on the authority of Al-Hasan of Basrah that when allegiance was sworn to Abubekr, he stood up and preached saying: And now, verily, I have been placed in this authority, though I am averse to it, and by Allah, I would have been pleased if any of you had sufficed for it in my stead, but if you charge me to act unto you as did the Apostle of God, I could not undertake it, for the Apostle of God was a servant whom the Lord honoured with His inspiration and preserved him thereby from error, and surely I am a mortal and am not better than any one of you—therefore watch over me, and when you see that I am steadfast then obey me, and when you see that I turn aside from the right path, set me aright. And know that I have a devil that seizes upon me, therefore when you see me enraged, avoid me, for at that time I cannot be influenced by your counsels or your good salutations." *Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's His. of Cal. p. 72.*

Absence of Abubekr and Omar

From the time of the death of the Prophet on Monday noon till the last portion of the night preceding Wednesday, Abubekr and

which they should come to power, and in accordance with this settlement Abubekr on his death-bed did not content himself with the election of his successor but nominated Omar in black and white—to avoid the risk of election—to succeed him.

2. The reply of Omar to Hobab, as observed in a previous paragraph above, also suggests that he was confident of the Caliphate settling with his partisans.

3. Omar's statement that he thought it not proper to disobey the *Caliph* twice in a day (as already observed in a paragraph above) also goes to show that he had already taken Abubekr as Caliph before the election; or else how could he say so, as it is strongly professed that the Prophet had not nominated his successor which necessitated the election.

from the funeral ceremonies of the Prophet.

Omar were busy* with the election affairs and could not †attend the funeral ceremonies of the Prophet, who was buried before they could come to join the ceremony. In fact they avoided to fall in with Ali before achieving complete and sure success in securing the Caliphate. After their success beyond the possibility of a reversion they came, but the funeral ceremonies were all finished.

Father wondering at his son's election.

"Al Hákim records in his Mustadrak (Supplement) from Abu Horeira that when the Apostle of God died, Mecca was convulsed by an earthquake, and Abu Qoháfa (father of Abubekr) noticed it and said, 'What is this?' They said, 'the Apostle of God is dead.' He answered, 'It is a momentous event, who then hath risen up in authority after him?' They said, 'Thy son.' He replied, 'Will the Banu Abd Manáf and the Banu Al-Moghira consent to this?' They answered, 'Yes.' He exclaimed, 'There is no overthrower of that which hath been exalted, and no exalter of that which hath been humbled!' *Jarret's translation of Suyuti's History of the Caliphs page 188.*"

Ali's attitude after the election of Abubekr.

Though the Caliphate was actually settled on Abubekr, there was still dissatisfaction among the people. None of the Háshimites was present at the Saqifa, or in the general allegiance sworn in the Mosque. Al Zobeir, Miqdád b. Aswad, Salmán Farsi, Abu Zharr Ghifári, Ammár Yaser, Barra b. Azheb, Khálid b. Sa'id, Abu

* With the experience of Saqifa fresh in memory, Omar on his death-bed, gave three days' time for the election of his successor, although it was to be made from amongst only six men of his own nomination, who were the only electors. It is evident that the election, at the Saqifa from amongst the contesting parties of the Ansárs and the Mohájirs would have occupied much more time but for the crafty measure taken by Omar to finish the whole affair.

† Kanzal Ommál; Arjah-al-Matáleb.

Ayyub Ansári, Khazima b. Thábit and others, as well as the Hashimites, kept themselves † aloof, not liking to pay homage to Abubekr, as they were of opinion that the right of succession belonged to Ali b. Abi Tálib alone.

Ali felt naturally grieved at the course the events had taken, but he made no stir. Had he made an attempt at arms against the people—the same who never dared to face the Champions of the Infidels, who were always overpowered by Ali—he would certainly have proved victorious as he proved himself throughout his life; but the victory would have been gained at the cost of the religion, which at this early stage of its life would have been strangled by the civil war. He, therefore, patiently shut himself up in his house, in the interests of Islam, which he had so long helped to establish at the risk of his life; and he turned his attention to the collection of the Qurán, which they think he wrote according to the order of its revelations. "Mohammed bin Sirin adds, if that Book were to be met with, there would be found in it much instruction." *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Hist. Cal. p. 188.*

Original name and titles of Abubekr.

At the time of his election Abubekr was about sixty years of age. He was the son of Abu Qoháfa, a Qoreishite, separated in parentage from the seventh forefather of the Prophet's lineage of ancestors. Abubekr was the seventh in descent from Tym the son of Morra, the seventh fore-father of the Prophet (vide the Genealogical Table.) The clan to which Abubekr belonged was denominated Bani Tym after the name of Tym. His mother Selma was a daughter of his father's uncle Sakhr. Though Abubekr is reckoned as one of the early converts to Islam yet his father Abu Qoháfa embraced the Faith after two decades of the Prophet's mission. Abubekr's original name was Abd-al-Ka'ba. He was also named Atiq. "His mother had no son surviving, and when she gave him birth, she took him to the temple and exclaimed, 'O Deity! If this one is granted immunity from death, then bestow him

† Abul Fida; Habib-al-Siyar etc.

upon me.' Afterwards he was named Atiq, *i. e.*, Liberated." *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 27.*

"As regards the title of As-Siddiq, it is said that he was so called in the Period of Ignorance, because he was distinguished for the love of truth. (Ibn Mondah)." *Ibid. p. 28.* "Mos'ab b. Al-Zobeir and others say that the people concurred in naming him (Abubekr) As-Siddiq (witness to the truth) because he hastened to testify to the Apostle of God, and steadfastly adhered to the truth......" *Ibid p. 25.*

On his conversion to Islam at the age of 38, Abubekr was named Abdalláh. After the marriage of his virgin daughter Ayesha he was called Abubekr (the father of the virgin), as she was the only one of the Prophet's wives that came a virgin to him, the others being widows.

Abubekr's habits and Profession.

Abubekr was a Genealogist, well versed in counting the pedigrees of the Arabs, more specially that of the Qoreish. "Ibn Asákir records from Al-Miqdám that.........Abubekr used to be a great reviler as well as a great genealogist." *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa p. 54.*

Abubekr had taken to trade in cloth. Next morning after allegiance had been sworn unto Abubekr, he arose and was going to the market place with some mantles upon his arm, when Omar said to him: "Whither art thou going?" He replied: "To the market." Omar said: "Dost thou do this although thou hast been given to rule over the Moslems?" He answered: "Whence then shall my family be fed?" Omar replied: "Come, Abu Obeida shall provide for thee;" and they went to Abu Obeida (the Treasurer of the Bait-al-Mál, public treasury.) They assigned him two thousand dirhams and he said: 'Increase the sum for me, for I have a family and you have employed me on other work than my own trade.' So they gave him an increase of five hundred dirhams." *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 79.* But this amount being still insufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family, a yearly allowance of six thousand

dirhams was fixed for his household charges, † Some say eight thousand dirhams.

Ali subjected to humiliation.

"Abubekr sent Omar to Fátema's house, where Ali and some of his friends were gathered, with orders to compel them by force to come in and do fealty to him, if they would not be persuaded by fair means. Omar was just going to fire the house, when Fátema asked him what he meant. He told her that he would certainly burn the house down unless they would be content to do as the rest of the people had done‡..............." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 83.* Knowing, as they did, the temper of Omar, the men came out of the house. They were Ali, Abbás and Zobeir. Ali reproached them saying: 'O ye Mohájirs! Ye claimed the succession to the Apostle of God preferring your priority in Islam and your kinship to him before the Ansárs. Now I put forward the same arguments in preference to you. Am I not the first who believed in the Prophet before any of you embraced his faith? Am I not the nearest in relation to the Prophet than any one of you? Fear God, if ye are true Believers, and do not snatch away the Prophet's authority from his house to your own.' Standing behind the door, Fátema reproachfully addressed the raiding party thus: 'O people! Ye left behind you the Prophet's dead body to us and proceeded to wring out the Caliphate for yourselves, extinguishing our rights.' Then she burst into weeping and cried: 'O father! O Apostle of God! How soon after thee troubles are pouring on us at the hands of the son of Khattáb and the son of Abu Qoháfa. How soon they have ignored thy words of Ghadir Khum and thy saying that Ali was to thee as Aaron was to Moses.' Hearing Fátema's wailings, most of the people in Omar's party could not keep themselves from weeping and turned ¶ back. Ali was, however, taken to Abubekr and was asked to swear him allegiance. He

†Ibn Athir.
‡Also Abul Fida; Aqdal Farid.
Qoteiba.

said, 'what if I do not do him homage?' He was answered, 'By Alláh, we shall kill thee if thou dost not do as others have done.' Upon this Ali said, 'what! will ye kill a man who is a servant of the Lord and a brother of the Apostle of the Lord?' Hearing this, Omar exclaimed, 'We do not admit that thou art a brother of the Apostle of the Lord;' and addressing Abubekr, who was silent all the time, he desired him to speak out his (Ali's) fate. But Abubekr said that so long as Fátema was alive, he would not compel her husband anywise. So Ali departed and proceeded direct to the tomb of the Prophet ‡ where he cried out, "O my brother! thy people now treat me with contempt and are bent upon killing* me."

Fatema's claim to inheritance.

Fátema—the only surviving child of the Prophet, his best beloved—claimed inheritance of the property which could be apportioned to her in the tithe lands of Medina and in Khaiber, as also Fadak, which, having been acquired without the use of force, the Prophet (her father) had given her for her maintenance in accordance with the commands of God (*as in Verse 28 of Sura XVII*). Abubekr refused to acknowledge her claim saying: "but the Prophet hath said, We the group of prophets do not inherit, nor are we inherited; what we leave is for alms". Hearing this saying ascribed to the Prophet, contrary to the versions of the Qurán, Fátema felt grieved and was so much displeased with Abubekr that she never again spoke to him as long as she lived; and when she died after six months of the death of her father, Abubekr was not

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‡ Ibn Qoteiba.

*It is contended by a large body of Moslems that according to their speculated terms, Omar was to succeed Abubekr on his death, but he naturally feared lest in the uncertain interval there might occur an outbreak on the part of the rightful claimant Ali, which would possibly destroy his ambitious dreams, he therefore anxiously wished and tried to get rid of Ali any how. But Ali was wise enough to bear with patience all the gravely insulting provocations and avoided any out break which would have endangered the safety of Islam.

allowed, in compliance with her will, to join her funeral. †It is significant that Abubekr was the single narrator of the tradition above referred to.

" He (Abubekr) was a man of great judgement and discretion, whose wariness and management at times almost amounted to craft, yet his purposes appear to have been honest and unselfish, directed to the good of the cause, not to his own benefit." *W. Irving.*

" Abu No'aim in his Hulyah writes on the authority of Abu Sáleh that when the people of Yemen came in the time of Abubekr and heard the Qurán, they began to weep, and Abubekr said: Thus were we, but afterwards our hearts became hardened." *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's His. Cal.*

Offers of hostility rejected by Ali.

"Abu Sofyán b. Harb went to Ali and said, 'How is it that the authority is with the least of the Qoreish in insignificance and the meanest of them? (i. e. Abubekr); by Alláh I would like to pour the Qoreish upon him, horse and foot.' Ali replied, 'Verily it is long since that thou hast been hostile to Islam, O Abu Sofyán, but that hurts it not at all....................'*Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's His. Cal. p. 66.*"

According to Dr. Weil, Abu Sofyán and some relations of Ali offered to assist him in maintaining his rights by the sword. But Ali had the safety of Islam at his heart, therefore he flatly rejected their offers. Abu Sofyán, being the most powerful, was won over with promises of good prospects for his sons; and subsequently his son Yazid was created General of a Division of Abubekr's forces, and thus he became a warm adherent of the Caliph.

Abubekr pretending to relinquish the Caliphate.

After the death of Fátema, when Abubekr came to see him, Ali upbraided him with want of openness and good faith in conducting the election affairs without his knowledge. Abubekr, disavowing all intrigue, said, that the exigencies of the situation prompted him to do

† Bokhári; Muslim; Masnad Ahmad Hanbal.

what he did, and, that had he been late the government would have been wrung out of his hands by the Ansárs. However, in order to pacify Ali, he expressed his willingness to relinquish his charge in his favour. The public declaration of the Relinquishment was fixed to be made in the Mosque at the noon day prayers. † At the appointed time Abubekr ascended the pulpit in the Mosque and addressing the congregation, he asked the leave of the congregation to resign and transfer the charge to a worthier person. Concluding he said: "Break off your homage to me as I am not the best whilst Ali is amongst you." The people, of course, would not listen to such a proposal mooted so abruptly. Ali was loth to create any disturbance and retired to his quarters. It is, however, certain that he did not do fealty to Abubekr, at least, as some assert, till the death of his wife Fátema.

Remonstration of Al-Hasan.

There is a tradition that Al-Hasan, the son of Ali, one day went to Abubekr, who was then on the pulpit of the Apostle of God, and said, "Come down from the seat of my father." Abubekr, answered, "Verily thou speakest the truth, for this is thy father's seat," and he seated him in his lap and wept. Ali said, "by Alláh, this was not said by my command." Abubekr said, "thou speakest truly, by Alláh, I did not suspect thee." *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 81.*

Some accounts of Abubekr's Caliphate.

Abubekr, not being a legal heir to the Prophet, nor even a Háshimite to be considered as a member of the clan to which the Prophet belonged, was not recognised universally as a rightful successor to the Prophet. Consequently most of the tribes throughout the Peninsula stopped payment of the tithes payable to the government. The legates of the Prophet, the collectors of tithes, were expelled. From every quarter in rapid succession reached the news of spreading disaffection to the Caliph. To this may be

† Fawáteh Meibizhi p. 128; Abtál-al-Bátil from Fadzal b. Rozbhán.

added the dangerous attitude of the imposters Musailama and Tulaiha, who were threatening the safety of Islam in the centre of the Peninsula and at the North-east of it respectively.

Summoning therefore the whole available forces, Abubekr divided them into eleven independant columns, with a distinguished leader to command each. The Commanders were instructed to reclaim the provinces alloted to them. On reaching their destinations they were required to summon the apostates and to ask them to repent and to acknowledge their submission to the Caliph. Should they accept these terms they were to be pardoned and received back into Islam. If they refused, they were to be attacked, their fighting men cut to pieces and their women and children taken prisoners. The Azhán or Call to Prayers was to be the test of faith; if that were heard and responded to by the people, they were not to be molested; if not, they were to be treated as apostates and as such to be attacked. Thus instructed, Khálid b. Walid was sent against Tulaiha; Ikrima and Sharahbil were appointed to punish Musailama; Khálid b. Sa'id was named for the Syrian border; Mohájir was deputed to Yemen; Alá to Bahrein; Hozhaifa b. Mohsan and Arfaja to Mahra.

Tulaiha, the Imposter. 11-12. A. H.

Deputed by the Caliph, Khálid advanced against Tulaiha, the Imposter. His column, by far the greatest of the eleven, was composed of a large number of the Prophet's Companions, the flowers of the Mohájirs. Later on, the Bani Tay, persuaded by Adi, also joined Khálid with one thousand horse. Thus strengthened, Khálid marched forward. The armies of the opponents met at Bozákha, where after a hard and long contest Tulaiha took to flight and escaped with his wife to Syria. Khálid stayed for a month at Bozákha, where the Bani Asad, Bani Solaim, Bani Amir and the Bani Hawázin came in, tendered their submission and paid the Tithes.

Having subdued the tribes inhabiting the hills and

Malik b. Nowaira. His cruel fate. 12. A. H.

desert to the North-west of Medina, Khálid bent his steps Southwards against the Bani Yerbo'. Málik b. Nowaira, their Chief, was a man of noble mien, great valor, an exellent horseman, renowned for his generosity and princely virtues as well as for his poetic talents—all great claims on Arab admiration. To these may be added the enviable fortune, which proved fatal to him, of having for wife the most beautiful woman in all Arabia, famous for her queenly grace, named Omm Tamim or Omm Motamim or Lailá. The men of Medina at first opposed the scheme, as they alleged that Khálid had no authority for attacking the Bani Yerbo'. But for some reason Khálid was bent upon it;so he haughtily replied, "I am the Commander, in the absence of orders it is for me to decide. I will march against Málik b. Nowaira with the men of Mecca and with such others as choose to follow me. I compel no man." And he advanced forward.

† Hearing of the approach of Khálid, at the head of a large force, four thousand five hundered strong, Málik resolved on immediate submission. He knew the ordinance of Abubekr that none, who readily responded to the Call to Prayers or who did not offer resistance, was to be molested. Khálid, however, treated the tract as an enemy's lands, sent forth bands everywhere to slay, plunder, and take captives all those that hesitated in tendering submission. Amongst others, Málik was brought along with his wife as captive. The beauty of the latter dazzled the eyes of the rough soldier and hardened his heart against her husband. "Dost thou refuse to pay the Tithes,?" demanded Khálid harshly of Málik. "Can't I pray without these exactions?" was the response. "Prayer without alms is of no avail," rejoined Khálid. "Is this thy master's bidding?" asked Málik haughtily. "Yes! My master and not thine!" roared Khálid furiously. "By Alláh thou deserveth death." "Is this also the order of thy

†Tabari; Ibn Athir; Abul Fida.

master?" rejoined Málik with a sneer. "Again!" cried Khálid scornfully, "Strike off the head of this rebel." His officers interfered. Abu Qatáda and Abdalláh b. Omar stated that Málik had at once responded to the Call to Prayers and that he was a Moslem. Málik's wife threw herself at Khálid's feet, with her face unveiled and her hair dishevelled, imploring mercy for her husband, who noticing the admiring look of Khálid on the charming beauty of his wife cried out, "Alas! Alas! here is the secret of my fate. Her beauty is the cause of my death!" "Nay!" cried Khálid, "it is because of thine apostasy that God killeth thee." "I am not an apostate," answered Málik, "I profess the true faith." But the assumed rage of Khálid was not to be appeased. The signal of death was given. Scarce had the profession of faith passed on the lips of the wretched man when his head fell under the scimitar of Dzarár b. Azwar, a brute after Khálid's own heart.

‡ Khálid, not content with so much brutality, ordered the heads of the slain to be cast into fire under the cooking pots. Málik's head had a mass of hair with flowing locks, so his skull could be burnt with great difficulty. †The same night, while yet the ground was wet with the blood of Málik, his wife was dragged to the lustful embrace of Khálid. She was wedded formally at the same spot a day or two after, in spite of the time-limit fixed by the Prophet for marrying a widow.

Complaint to the Caliph against Khalid.

The men of Medina, who had first opposed Khálid for his advance on the Bani Yerbo', and again remonstrated with him at the murder of Málik, were shocked at his cruel fate and despised Khálid's conduct after the murder. Abu Qatáda swore that he would never serve under his banner. He left the Camp and set out at once for Medina, along with Motammim, Málik's brother, who laid a formal complaint before the Caliph. Omar, hearing all about the affair from Abu Qatáda and others, took up the cause of

‡† Tabari, Tárikh-al Khamis, Sawáeq.

the murdered Chief. ‡ He desired Abubekr to have Khâlid stoned to death for adultery or executed for the murder of a Moslem. But Abubekr would not listen to such proposals. Then Omar suggested that the offender should be degraded and put in chains, saying that the sword dipped in violence and outrage must be sheathed. Abubekr, however, observed that Khâlid had sinned through error rather than intention. He also remarked that Wahshi, who killed Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet, was pardoned by him. Nevertheless he summoned Khâlid to answer for the charge.

Abubekr's Judgment.

¶ Khâlid came to Medina and was proceeding to the Caliph in his field costume with his turban wound roughly round his head, with arrows stuck in it as the distinctive ensign of a General, when he met Omar, who chided him calling him a murderer and an adulterer, and seizing the arrows from his turban broke them over his shoulders. Khâlid, not knowing whether he would be received by the Caliph in the like manner, kept quiet and proceeded to Abubekr. † He paid two Dinars to the door-keeper and asked him to be presented to the Caliph when alone and in good humour. Being thus presented, he told his story, which was accepted by Abubekr. He was chided only for having wedded his victim's widow on the field and under such circumstances which were so disgusting to the customs and feelings of the Arabs. When he came out, he showed to Omar by his attitude that he had been exonerated. Omar remained silent, but unconvinced of his innocence. He neither forgave nor forgot the atrocity; and, when he came to power, the deposition from his office was the first order which Omar passed and issued against Khâlid.

Fujat Salmi.

Fujât Salmi, a chief of the Bani Solaim (and according to Ariza-i-Khâwar and Tahzib-al-Matin, a Companion of the Prophet who had taken part

‡ Kanzal Ommâl.
¶ Tabari; Abul Fidâ; Khamis; Ibn Wâzeh; Ibn-al-Wardi.
† Tabari Persian Edition; Rawdzat-al-Safâ.

in Bedr), appearing before Abubekr, offered his services to subdue his neighbouring disloyal tribes; and asked to be furnished with the necessary arms and accoutrement for his followers. Being equipped by the Caliph, he is said to have abused the trust, by carrying out marauding expeditions wherever there was a chance of plunder, indiscriminately against loyal and disloyal tribes. The Caliph, receiving the intelligence, deputed Tariqa b. Hájiz to bring him to his senses. Fuját challenged his adversary to a parley and asserted that he himself held a commission similar to his from the Caliph. They, at length, agreed to appear before the Caliph to explain.

Thus Fuját, laying aside his arms, proceeded to Medina along with Tariqa. But no sooner had he appeared before the Caliph than he was ordered to be seized and burnt alive. He was immediately dragged away to Baqi' where a large fire was kindled and the doomed man thrown into the flames†.

Abubekr, who is said to have been a man of tender heart, mild in his judgments, and generous to a fallen foe, was afterwards sorry for this savage act of his. It is one of the three things which haunted him most and of which he used to say in his last days of life "I would I had not done‡."

Rebellion in Hadzramaut under Ash'ath b. Qais. 12. A. H.

Ziyád b. Lobid, the Governor of Hadzramawt, had roused the hatred of the Bani Kinda by his harshness in collecting the tithes. Once he took hold of a camel, belonging to one Yazid b. Mo'áwiyat-al-Qora, and refused to give it back in exchange for a better camel, which was offered by Yazid. He appealed to Hárith b. Soráqa, a powerful Chief of the place, who supported Yazid and asked Ziyád to restore the camel in exchange. Still Ziyád refused to give back the camel. This enraged Hárith, who himself released it from the shed where the camels were herded, and spoke out; "So

†Ibn Athir; Ibn Khaldun.

‡Aqdal Farid; Murawaj-al-Zahb; Kanzal Ommál.

long as the Prophet lived, we obeyed him; he is now dead, we are not bound to obey any one else than his successor from his own family. The son of Abu Qoháfa has no right to govern us. We have no concern with him." He composed a poem in praise of the Prophet's family and in scorn of Abubekr and sent it to Ziyád. Noticing the contemptuous attitude of the people, Ziyád fled for his life and sought shelter with Bani Zobid, a neighbouring tribe. But they received him coldly and expressed themselves in symathy with the views of Hárith. They said that they believed that the Mohájirs and the Ansárs had deprived the rightful heir of his rights through their envy for the superiority of the Háshimites and that it was quite improbable that the Prophet, before his death, should not have nominated his successor from amongst his own family. Finding himself unsafe with such people, Ziyád fled for shelter with other tribes, but everywhere he met a similar treatment. At last he took his way to Medina, where he reported the details to the Caliph, who, alarmed at the intelligence, furnished him with four thousand fighting men to subjugate the revolting tribes.

Ziyád came back to Hadzramawt and tried, for a considerable time, in vain to reclaim the people and the country. Ash'ath b. Qais, Chief of the Bani Kinda, offered strong resistance. Ash'ath had embraced Islam and paid homage to the Prophet in 10 A. H. (see page 231). At the same time he was betrothed to Omm Farwa, sister of Abubekr. Learning the difficulties of Ziyád, Abubekr directed Mohájir b. Abi Omyya and Ikrima b. Abu Jahl to proceed at once from San'á and Aden respectively to reinforce Ziyád.

"Surrounded by the enemy Ziyád despatched an urgent summons to Mohájir to hasten to his deliverance. By this time Mohájir and Ikrima, marching respectively from San'á and Aden, had effected a junction at Marab, and were crossing the sandy desert of Sayhad, which lay between them and Hadzramawt. Learning the critical position of Ziyád, Mohájir set off in haste with a flying

squadron, and joining Ziyád, fell upon Ash'ath, and discomfited him with great slaughter. The routed enemy fled for refuge to the stronghold of Nojair which Mohájir immediately invested. Ikrima soon came up with the main body, when there were troops enough both to surround the city and also to ravage all the country round about. Stung by witnessing the ruin of their kindred, and preferring death to dishonour, the garrison sallied forth and fought at every point about the fortress. After a desperate struggle, in which all the approaches were filled with the dead, they were driven back. Meanwhile Abubekr, apprised of the obstinate resistance, sent orders to make an example of the rebels and to give them no quarter. The wretched garrison, with the enemy daily increasing, and no prospect of relief, were now bereft of hope. Seeing the position desperate, the wily Ash'ath made his way to Ikrima and treacherously agreed to deliver up the fortress if nine lives were guaranteed. The moslems entered, slew the fighting men, and took the women captive. The list of the nine to be spared was presented to Mohájir. "Thy name is not here," cried the conqueror exultingly to Ash'ath, for the craven traitor had forgotten, in the excitement of the moment, to enter his own name; "The Lord be praised, who hath condemned thee out of thine own mouth." So, having cast him into chains, he was about to order his execution, when Ikrima interposed and induced him, much against his will, to refer the case to Abubekr. The crowd of captive women, mourning the massacre of their sons and husbands, loaded the recreant, as he passed by, with bitter imprecations. (A thousand women were captured in the fortress. They called after Ash'ath as he passed, "he smelleth of burning," *i.e.* he is a recreant traitor.)

Abubekr's judgment.

"Arrived at Medina, the Caliph abused him as a pusillanimous wretch who had neither the power to lead nor yet the courage to defend his people; and he threatened him with death. But at last, moved by his appeal to the terms agreed upon by Ikrima, and by his protestations that he would thence-

forth fight bravely for the Faith, Abubekr not only forgave him, but allowed him to fulfil the marriage with his sister (Omm Farwa). Ash'ath remained for a while in idleness at Medina, and the Caliph was heard to say that one of the three things that he repented having done during his Caliphate was his weakness in sparing the rebel's life." *Muir's Annals, p. 57.*

† Omm Farwa bore Ash'ath one daughter and three sons. The daughter (Jo'da) poisoned Hasan son of Ali which caused his death. Two sons, Mohammad and Isháq figured in the armies of Yazid against Hosain son of Ali at Karbalá. Mohammed, later on, was killed fighting in the army of Mos'ab against Mokhtár, the avenger of Hosain's murder.

Expeditions to foreign countries.

The apostates having thus been subjugated and reclaimed and the revolts being suppressed, conquests in foreign territories were contemplated and expeditions were despatched to Syria and Iráq. The Romans were discomfited in the battle of Yermuk which brought a considerable part of Syria under the sway of Islam in 12–13 A. H. In the same period great progress was made towards the Persian borders.

Appointment of Yazid.

Towards the the close of 12 A. H. (Spring of 634 A. D.) Yazid, son of the famous Omyyad chief Abu Sofyán, was despatched to Syria in command of a battalion with a great levy from Mecca including many Omyyads and famous chiefs of the Qoreish. His brother Mo'áwiya, shortly after, joined him, along with his father Abu Sofyán and his sister Howairiya and other members of the family.

Here it will not be out of place to remark that the ascendency over the Háshimites coveted for generations and already almost gained by the Omyyads after the death of Abd-al-Mottalib (vide p. 12) was finally crushed by the Prophet with his conquest of Mecca. Now Abubekr turned the tables. He offered the Omyyads a chance to regain and improve their position by appointing

† Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb; Ibn Khaldun; A'tham Kufi.

Yazid as a General of a Division of his Forces; thus furnishing them with ample opportunities to re-establish their power, which they were only too glad to seize. Nor were they slack in attaining their object. Very soon Yazid secured for himself the high position as Governor of Damascus (14 A.H. Summer of 634 A.D.) in the time of Caliph Omar. Some four years later (18 A. H. Autumn of 639 A. D.) when both Yazid, the Governor of Damascus and Abu Obeida, the Commander-in-Chief in Syria, had perished in plague, "Omar appointed Mo'áwiya, son of Abu Sofyán and brother of Yazid to the Chief Command in Syria, and thus† laid the foundation of the Omyyad dynesty." Abubekr in his own interests (as observed on page 291) disregarded the consequences detrimental to the Háshimites, the descendants of the Prophet; and Omar promoted the Omyyads' cause, neglecting the old standing rivalry and wilfully ignoring the enmity which the Omyyads bore towards the Háshimites after the battle of Bedr in which Otba, Sheiba and Walid, the forefathers of Yazid and Mo'áwiya and the eminent leaders of the Qoreish, had fallen under the sword of the Háshimites. The result of raising the Omyyads was too obvious, as it was foreseen and spoken out by Hobáb in the Saqifa election—the destruction of those who killed the Qoreish—(vide page 281). Mo'áwiya tactfully established his authority in the long run over all Arabia. After his death, his son Yazid avenged his slain relatives and collected the debts of blood, which remained unsettled for two generations, from the Prophet's family at Karbalá,.

Abubekr's knowledge of the Quran.

Abu Obeida from Ibráhim-at-Tymi relates that Abubekr was asked regarding the saying of the Most High, "Grapes and Clover" (*Sur. LXXX-28* عنباً و قضباً) and he said, "what sky would overshadow me and what earth would sustain me, if I speak regarding the Book of God that which I know not." ***Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His.***

"Al Baihaqi and others relate from Abubekr—that he

† Muir's Annals, p. 237,

was asked regarding the meaning of Al-Kalálah (*Sura IV-175*) and he said: "I will presently give an opinion regarding it, and if it be just, it is from God, but if it be faulty, it cometh from me and from the Evil one. I think it to mean lacking parent and off-spring;" and when Omar became Caliph, he said, "Verily, I forbear from setting aside a thing that Abubekr hath spoken." [Al-Kalálah translated by Sale: "a distant relation." Zamakhshari in his great Commentary gives it three meanings, 1. One who has neither son nor father alive; 2. One who has neither father living nor any issue; 3. One who has no living relative in the direct paternal line, nor through his own children]. *Major Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti.*

Al-Lálakai (Abul Qásim Hibatalláh b. Hasan b. Manthur-al-Rádzi) records in his Sunnat on the authority of Ibn Omar, that a man went to Abubekr and said, "Dost thou think that fornication in a man is predestined?" He answered, "Yes." Then, he said, "if God hath predestined it concerning me, will He punish me, for it?" He replied, "Yes, thou son of an uncircumcised woman, and by Alláh, were a man by me, I would command him to bring thee to reason." *Ibid.*

Málik and Dár Qutni from Al-Qásim b. Mohammed relate that two grand-mothers went to Abubekr demanding their inheritance, the mother of a mother, and the mother of a father, and he accorded the inheritance to the mother of the mother. Thereupon Abd-al-Rahmán b. Sahel, the Auxiliary who had fought at Bedr and was an associate of the Banu Hárith said to him, "O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God! Dost thou bestow it upon her, who, if she died, would not be inherited of?" (According to the Mohammedan Law a grand-son does not inherit from his maternal grand-mother). So he divided it between the two. *Ibid.*

Some traditions concerning Abubekr.

Al-Bazzár, (As Sirár) relates the tradition: when there was revealed, "Lift not up your voices above the voice of the Prophet" *Sur. XLIX-2*) Abubekr said, "O Apostle of God, I will not address thee save in the voice of one who

is decrepit." *Major Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti.*

(This verse is said to have been occasioned by Abubekr and Omar having raised so high their voices in addressing the Prophet concerning the appointment of a governor of a certain place that it was necessary to forbid it for the future—*Sale.*)

Al Dár Qutni relates the tradition that Abubekr kissed the Black Stone and said, "Were it not that I have seen the Apostle of God kiss thee, I would not have kissed thee." *Ibid.*

Ahmad in the Zohd relates the tradition from Abu Imrán-al-Juni, that Abubekr as-Siddiq said, "I would I were a hair in the side of a servant, a true believer." *Ibid.*

† The Prophet said to Abubebr: "*Scepticism* (Shirk) moves more stealthily among you than the creeping of an ant."

Some traditions on Abubekr's authority.

Abubekr narrated 142 traditions from the Apostle of God. Some of them are as follows:—

"Infidelity (Shirk) moves more stealthily among my people than the creeping of an ant." *Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti.*

"We (the Prophets) are not inherited of; that which we leave is the portion of the poor." *Ibid.*

Abubekr's illness. Nomination of successor.

In the month of Jamádi II, 13 A. H. (Aug. 634 A D.) Abubekr, having bathed incautiously on a cold day, was seized with fever. After a fortnight's illness, when he felt himself too weak and exhausted, he became hopeless of his recovery, and desired to put Omar in authority by nominating him as his successor, thus to avoid the risk in his election. To break the resolve to the people, he first made its disclosure in a sort of consultation with Abd-al Rahmán, who on receiving the intelligence praised Omar but added that he was too harsh. Next he consulted Othmán, who said, "Omar with his inward heart is better than what he is with his outward appearance." Upon this

† Izálat-al-Khifá Urdu Vol. II p. 214.

Abubekr said, "The Lord bless thee Othmán! If I had not chosen Omar, I would have not passed thee over." Knowing this resolve, (according to Tárikh-al-Khamis and Rowdzat al Safá) Talha and several other Companions of the Prophet approached Abubekr and protested against the nomination. Talha expostulated thus: "How would thou answer to thy Lord to have left his people to the care of so hard a master as Omar." Hearing this, Abubekr seemed much excited and he cried, "Set me up," and, calling Othmán, he at once dictated an ordinance as follows: "I, Abubekr son of Abu Qoháfa, at the eve of my approaching end, do make this declaration of my will to the Moslems. I nominate as my successor—." At this point Abubekr fainted and could not speak. Othmán, who knew whose name Abubekr would dictate, added 'Omar b. Al-Khattáb.' When Abubekr became again conscious, he asked Othmán to read what he had written. When Othmán read the name of the successor as written by him on the ordinance, Abubekr said, "Alláh-o-Akbar! God bless thee for thy foresight. If in the swoon I had passed away the people would have been left in the dark without the addition thou hast made." Then he continued the dictation: "Listen to him and obey him: for he will rule with justice, if not, God, who knows all secrets, will treat him likewise. I mean all for the best, but I do not know the hidden hearts. Fare ye well." The ordinance having been sealed with his seal, the Caliph desired that it should be read over to the people in the Mosque. Omar himself was present and he hushed the noise and made the people keep quiet that they might hear.

†Ibn Qoteiba in his book 'Imámat' writes: "when the ordinance was being taken by Sháhid a slave of Abubekr, for being read over to the people, somebody asked Omar, who accompained the bearer, "what is it about?" Omar replied that he knew nothing but that he was concerned with it more than any other. The man then said, "if thou knowest not, I do know that last time thou made

†Zakir Hosain's History of Islam vol. iii p. 54.

Abubekr Caliph, now in his turn he hast made thee Caliph in his place."

"It was said to Abubekr in his illness, "what wilt thou say to thy God, now that thou hast appointed Omar to rule?" He replied, "I will say to Him, I have appointed over them the best of them." (Ibn Sa'd). *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 122.*

Abubekr As-Siddiq said, "there is not upon the face of the earth a man dearer to me than Omar." (Ibn Asákir). *Ibid.*

Abubekr's death bed.

‡During his illness, Abubekr lamented three of his acts, which he said: "I would I had not done." (1) The raiding of Fátema's house, notwithstanding the conspiracies which, he said, were held there against him. (2) The burning alive of Fuját Salmi. He said the man should have been released or put to sword but not burnt. (3) To have spared the rebel Ash'ath to whom Abubekr subsequently gave his sister Omm Farwa in marriage. The man, he said, was always forward in wickedness.

"An-Nasái records from Aslam, that Omar beheld Abubekr, who seized hold of his own tongue and said, 'this it is that hath brought me to that to which I have come'. *Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 104.*"

Some time before his death Abubekr asked, 'on what day did the Apostle of God die', and he was answered that he died on a Monday.

Abubekr's death.

¶Abubekr died, at the age of 63 years, on Tuesday the 22nd of Jamádi II, 13 A. H. or 22nd of August 634 A. D. having reigned two years three months and ten days. His wife Asmá bint Omais, helped by his son Abd-al-Rahmán, gave him his last wash. Omar read the prayers reciting the Takbir four times. Grave was dug for him by the side of the grave of the Prophet, and the niche of his grave touched the grave of the Apostle of God. He was buried with his head in a

‡Tabari; Aqd-al-Farid, Kanz-al-Ommál etc.

¶Jarret's trans. of Suyuti, p. 86.

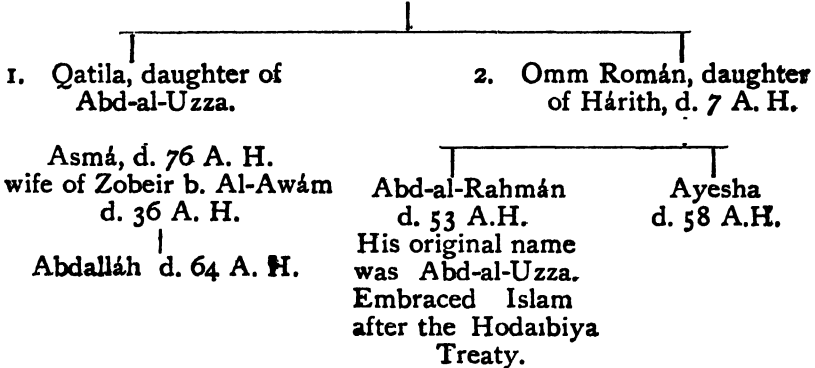
level with the Prophet's shoulder.

Abubekr and his family's concerns with the Prophet's family.

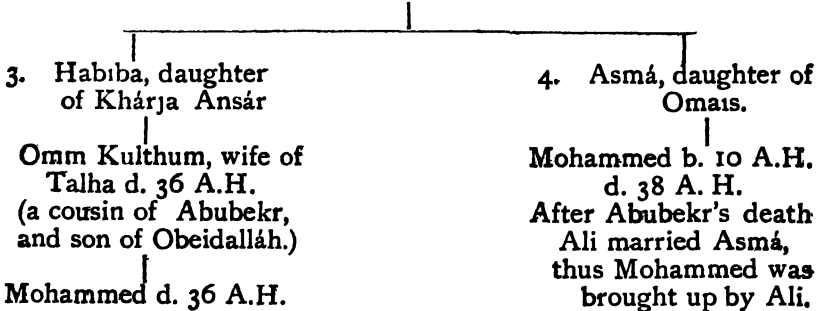
Abubekr had four wives, one of whom died in his lifetime. His surviving issues from each wife are named in the Table given below:—

Wedded before Abubekr's conversion to Islam.

1. Qatila, daughter of Abd-al-Uzza.
   - Asmá, d. 76 A. H. wife of Zobeir b. Al-Awám d. 36 A. H.
     - Abdalláh d. 64 A. H.

2. Omm Román, daughter of Hárith, d. 7 A. H.
   - Abd-al-Rahmán d. 53 A.H. His original name was Abd-al-Uzza. Embraced Islam after the Hodaibiya Treaty.
   - Ayesha d. 58 A.H.

Wedded after Abubekr's conversion to Islam.

3. Habiba, daughter of Khárja Ansár
   - Omm Kulthum, wife of Talha d. 36 A.H. (a cousin of Abubekr, and son of Obeidalláh.)
     - Mohammed d. 36 A.H.

4. Asmá, daughter of Omais.
   - Mohammed b. 10 A.H. d. 38 A. H. After Abubekr's death Ali married Asmá, thus Mohammed was brought up by Ali.

History shows that Abubekr himself and his whole family (excepting Asmá and her son Mohammed) were hostile to the Prophet's family, in utter disregard of what the Qurán ordained (see page 242) or what the Prophet said (see page 239) relating to the respect and love for his family. The following is the list of those whose hostility was distinctively marked:—

1. Abubekr, on his accession to the Caliphate, sent Omar to Fátema's house to compel Ali by force to come

in and do fealty to him. Omar threatened to burn the house down upon Fátema, and brought Ali under escort to Abubekr where he was so humiliated and insulted that he cried bitterly at the tomb of the Prophet complaining against the treatment he had received. Subsequently Fátema was so much grieved by Abubekr that, so long as she survived her father, she never spoke a word to Abubekr, and on her death-bed she forbade his joining her funeral. (*See page 290.*)

2. Abubekr's daughter Ayesha revolted against Ali the Caliph, and at the head of 30,000 soldiers she fought the battles of Jamal. But she was discomfited with heavy loss.

3. Abubekr's son Abd-al-Rahmán was also fighting for her sister's cause in the same battles.

4. Abubekr's son-in-law Zobeir b. Al-Awám, the husband of Asmá the eldest daughter of Abubekr, was the Commander of Ayesha's armies. During the heat of the battle he withdrew and took the road towards Mecca, but was slain only at a short distance from the field of battle.

5. Abubekr's grand-son Abdalláh the son of Zobeir by Asmá, was the Commander of Ayesha's infantry. He was the adopted son of Ayesha. After the battle he was traced out from under a heap of the slain lying in the battle-field.

6. Abubekr's cousin, Talha, as also the husband of Abubekr's daughter Omm Kulthum, was a Commander of Ayesha's Troops. In the heat of the battle, Marwán (the Secretary and the evil genius of Caliph Othmán), an officer in the same forces, seeing Talha busily engaged, said to his slave: "It was but the other day that Talha was busily instigating the murderers of Othmán and now he is so busily seeking to revenge his blood. What a hypocrisy to gain worldly grandeur!" So saying he shot an arrow, which pierced through Talha's leg and struck his horse, which flew wildly off the ranks and Talha fell to the ground. He was instantly taken to Bussorah where he died after a while.

7. Abubekr's cousin Abd-al-Rahmán, a brother of Talha, also fell fighting in the same battle.

8. Mohammed, the son of Talha, also fell in the same battle.

9. Abubekr's sister Omm Farwa's daughter, Jo'da bint Ash'ath poisoned Al-Hasan, the son of Ali, to death. She was suborned, to commit the wickedness, by Yazid the son of Mo'áwiya or by himself.

10. Abubekr's sister Omm Farwa's son Mohammed.

11. Abubekr's sister Omm Farwa's son Isháq, both brothers, the sons of Ash'ath, appeared among the armies of Yazid, fighting against Hosain, the son of Ali, at the Karbalá tragedy. Later on, the former was killed fighting against Mokhtár, who was avenging the murder of Hosain; while the latter, who had taken off the dead body of Hosain some of his clothes, was torn to death by dogs.

12. Mos'ab, a son of Zobeir the son-in-law of Abubekr, fought against Mokhtár, who was killed avenging the murder of Hosain.

CHAPTER—XIX.

Omar, the second Caliph.

Omar assumed the Caliphate, according to the bequest of Abubekr, on Tuesday the 22nd of Jamadi II, 13 A. H. or 634 A. H. The morning following the death of Abubekr, Omar ascended the pulpit to address the people. The first sentence which he uttered on the pulpit was, 'O God! verily I am rough in temper, therefore soften me; and verily I am weak, therefore strengthen me; and verily I am avaricious, therefore make me generous. *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al- Kholafa, p. 144.*

Omar's succession to the Caliphate.

The first act of the new Caliph was to issue a dispatch deposing Khálid from his chief Command in Syria, allowing him, however, to continue his services in subordination of Abu Obeida. The second act was in fufilment of Abubekr's dying behest to raise a fresh levy for Mothanna, for the reinforcement of the Iráq campaign. A new standard was planted in the court of the Great Mosque and urgent proclamation was made that soldiers were to rally round it. Then followed the oath of fealty, which occupied more than three days to accomplish.

Omar was a Qoreish, remote from the ancestry of the great Prophet by eight generations. He was eighth in descent from Adi, the son of Ka'b the eighth forefather of the Prophet (vide the Genealogical Table). The clan to which Omar belonged was denominated after the name of Adi. The Bani Adi originally lived at Safá in the suburbs of Mecca, but, on account of the hostile attitude of certain Qoreish clans, they shifted to the Dzajnán valley about 25 miles North-west of Mecca under the protection of Bani Sahm. Omar's father was Al-Khattáb, whose original occupation was fuel wood selling.† His mother Hantama was a daughter of Hishám and sister of Abu Jahl. Khattáb

Omar's ancestry and Antecedents.

† Aqd-al-Farid; Izálat-al-Khifa.

and Amr were the sons of Nofail, whose widow Jáida, the mother of Khattáb, was taken by Amr to wife and bore to him Zaid, who thus stood, at the same time, the cousin and uncle of Omar. During the period of his Caliphate, when Omar happened to pass through the valley of Dzajnán, he remembered with wonderment the vast difference between his present position and the circumstances of his boy-hood when, with a shirt of coarse wool upon his body, he said, he used to tend the sheep of his father there in that valley and collected the dry leaves and fuel wood, which he carried upon his head in the evening to his father, on pain of being beaten or rebuked for negligence. But now, he said, there was none to mediate between himself and God.‡

AN-Nawáwi says that Omar was born thirteen years after the year of the Elephant. He embraced Islam at the age of 33 years, and assumed the Caliphate at the age of 52. Before his conversion to Islam, he was as deadly hostile to the Prophet as his maternal uncle Abu Jahl—the Pharaoh of the Qoreish—who fell slain in the battle of Bedr.

Mohammad b. Sa'd, the Secretary of Wackidi, on the authority of Zohri states that the Epithet Al-Fáruq, an addendum to the name of Omar was introduced by Ahl-i-kitáb (*i.e.* the Jews or Christians) and afterwards adopted by the Mussalmans, who have received nothing on this account from the Prophet.†

Omar was the first Caliph who assumed the title of Amir-al-Mominin, *i. e.* the Commander of the Faithful. Abubekr used to write, "From the Caliph of the Apostle of God." Omar, on his accession to the office, used to write, "From the Caliph of the Caliph of the Apostle of God." Subsequently the title Amir-al-Mominin was adopted in place of the too long and cumbersome phrase hitherto used. This title was ever afterwards used by all the succeeding Caliphs. *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His p. 143.*

‡ Ibn Athir ; Izálat-al-Khifa.

† Tabari; Ibn Athir; Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

Omar was preaching from the pulpit one day, when Al-Hosain, the son of Ali, stood up against him and said: "Come down from the pulpit of my father." Omar replied: "It is the pulpit of thy father, not the pulpit of my father; who hath counselled thee to this?" Then Ali rose and said: "By Allah! no one counselled him to this." *Ibid p. 148.*

Remonstration of al-Hosain.

In the year 14 A. H. Omar introduced the Special Service of reciting the Qurán in the month of Ramadzán, and, for the first time, he assembled the people for the prayers which he named At-Taráwih." *Ibid p. 135.*

Introduction of Tarawih.

Numerous conquests of foreign lands and victories are the especial feature of Omar's reign.

In the year 14 A. H. Damascus was taken, partly by force of arms and partly by Convention; and Yazid, the son of the Omyyad chief Abu Sofyán, was made Governor of Damascus. Yazid subsequently extended his authority from Damascus towards the desert as far as Tadmor; and he deputed his brother Mo'áwiya westward, who, meeting little opposition, reduced Sidon and Beyrout and pushed his conquests as far north as Arqa.

Some accounts of Omar's Caliphate.

In the year 15 A. H. the whole of the country of Jordon was conquered.

In the year 16 A. H. Omar went to Jerusalem and concluded a Treaty. Takrit was captured. Khálid defeated the Romans near Kinnisrin or Chalcia. He was consequently received back into the Caliph's favour and made governor of Kinnisrin. Next fell Aleppo, then Antioch—the third metropolis of the world. Syria, from the farthest north to the borders of Egypt, was brought entirely under the sway of Islam, and the Roman Emperor Heraclius gave up Syria as lost. Only Cæsaria remained with the Romans. Al Ahwáz and Madáen were taken the same year. In the battle of Jalolá, the Persian Emperor Yazdjird, being defeated, fled to Rai, the northern capital of Persia in the direction of the Caspian sea. The ruins of Rai

are still to be found 5 or 6 miles south-east of Tehran, of considerable extent. The Royal city was captured and demolished by No'aim, who laid the foundation of a new city in 22 A. H.

Ziyad.

Among the captives taken at Jalolá was a youth named Ziyád, who was distinguished for his singular readiness and address. He was sent to Medina along with the fifth of the spoils to the Caliph. His parentage was doubtful. His reputed father was the Omyyad Abu Sofyán, who in a state of intoxication is said to have enjoyed the society of his mother, who was a slave kept by another person at Táef—Ziyád was a fruit of this love-affair. Subsequently he foreshadowed the greatness of his administrative talents. Abu Musa Ash'ari, Omar's governor of Bussorah, had made over the seals of his office to the youth. He was eventually acknowledged by Mo'áwiya (son of Abu Sofyán) as his brother, much to the scandal of the public. He was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Islam.

Mohammedan Era.

In the month of Rabi I of the same year, the Era of Hegira commencing with Moharram as the first month was adopted by the advice of Ali b. Abi Tálib.†

In the year 17 A.H. Bussorah and Kufa were founded.

Khalid's deposition.

Khálid again incurred the displeasure of Omar. He was greatly enriched with the spoils of the wars in the Archipelago. Most of his old friends from Iráq flocked to him in expectation of his bounty. He gave 1000 pieces of gold to Ash'ath, chief of the Bani Kinda; and friendly largesses to many others. This extravagance of Khálid invoked the anger of Omar more than his indulgence in wine, though Omar was much displeased to learn that Khálid had bathed himself in wine at Amida, so that the odour thereof clung strongly about him when he came forth.‡ Khálid was arraigned by the Caliph on both these charges, but when he appeared at Medina to answer for the charges he was required to account for only his

† Suyuti. ‡ Muir's Annals, p. 219.

extravagance. In reply, he said that his whole fortune amounted to not more than 60,000 pieces which, he said, he had gained from war spoils mostly in the days of Abubekr; and he offered that any thing found in excess of the sum named, might be confiscated to the State. So his affects were valued, and the estimate reaching 80,000, Omar confiscated the difference and deposed Khálid, who retired to Hims, where he died in the eighth year of Omar's Caliphate. The man to whom Abubekr owed all his success in his Caliphate and who, with his victories and conquests, had raised Omar aloft to the position of an emperor, ended his days in penury and neglect.

Famine.

In the year 17-18 A.H. famine broke out in Hejáz. It was named the Year of Ashes, because of the land being so charged with the parched and sandy soil as to obscure the light by a thick and sultry haze. The air was dry and dusty and there was nothing green on earth.

Plague.

In the year 18 A. H. plague ravaged in Syria, made a great havoc at the head quarters of Arabs at Hims and Damascus; 25,000 perished of the pestilence. Abu Obeida, who held the chief command in Syria, together with his son, fell a victim to the pestilence. Yazid the governor of Damascus also fell a prey to the virulence of plague. It spread to Iráq as far as Bussorah.

Mo'awiya's appointment as governor of Syria.

Both Abu Obeida and Yazid being dead, Omar appointed Mo'áwiya b. Abu Sofyán governor of Syria to hold the chief Civil and Military control over the province, and laid the foundation of the Omyyad dynasty. †

Mo'áwiya was a man of unbounded ambition, and he turned to good account his new position. He busily consolidated the administration of Syria, and with a clever foresight strengthened his hold upon the province against the contingencies of the future. His factious spirit, inherited by him from his parents (his father Abu Sofyán,

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†Muir's Annals, p. 237.

the bitter opponent of the Háshimites like his father Harb and grand-father Omyya; his mother Hinda, who, tearing open the dead body of the Prophet's uncle Hamza, had chewed the liver and sucked the blood from it), was, though yet in embryo, spurning the divine claims of Ali, the proclaimed vicegerent and cousin of the Prophet and the husband of his favourite daughter Fátema, and the father of the Prophet's holy progeny. Ali was neither ambitious nor an envious man. He had only the interest of Islam at his heart. He readily counselled the Caliph with his sagacious advice in solving difficult problems for which he was often praised by the Caliph with such phrases:† "If there were no Ali, Omar were dead"; "May God lengthen thy life"; "May God strengthen thee"; "May God preserve him (Omar) from a perplexing case which the father of Al-Hasan was not present to decide." Though honoured to all outward appearances and eulogized for his wit and judgment yet Ali was never given a chance to rise to power. The contrast is concievable. Mo'áwiya attained at length the aims of his foresighted policy, as will be seen from the history that follows.

In the year 19 A. H. Cæsaria was over-powered and captured, bringing the Syrian territory completely under the sway of Islam.

The year was also distinguished by the bursting forth of volcanic fires from a hill called Leilá in the neighbourhood of Medina. A naval expedition sent to Abyssinia met a disaster, all the vessels being wrecked.

In the year 20 A. H. Tustar was taken possession of. The Roman Emperor Heraclius died in the same year.

In the year 21 A. H. the battle of Naháwand took place, after which the Persians were unable to hold out any longer.

In the year 22 A.H. Azharbaiján and Rai were carried by force. Also Hamdán.

In the year 23 A. H. took place the conquest of Kirmán, Sujestán, Mekrán and Ispehán. Towards the

†Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tárikh-al-Kholafa, p. 142 and p. 175.

close of this year, Omar was stabbed, receiving mortal wounds.

Omar's knowledge of the Quran.

While at Jerusalem in the year 16 A. H., Omar delivered a Sermon. In the course of his address he quoted from the Qurán the passage: "whom God guides, he is guided indeed, and whom He misleadeth thou shalt not find for him a patron to guide," *Sur. XVIII-16*; as also in *Sur. IV-90, 142*; and *Sur. XVII-99*) A Christian priest who sat before him stood up and cried; "Nay! God misleadeth no one" and he repeated it. Omar, instead of explaining to the priest the correct version of the text, bid those who stood by him to strike off his head if he interrupted any more. The man understood what was ordered and held his peace.†

Al Baihaqi and others report from Abubekr, that he was asked regarding the meaning of Al-kalálah' (*Sur. IV-*15, 175) and he answered: "I will presently give an opinion regarding it, and if it be just, it is from God, but if it be faulty, it cometh from me and from the Evil one. I think it to mean lacking parent and offspring"; and when Omar became Caliph, he said, "Verily I forbear from setting aside a thing that Abubekr hath spoken."‡

Whip in hand Omar used to perambulate the streets and markets of Medina, and often in the nights he went on rounds through the city. One night while going on his usual round in the town, Omar passed by a house wherein some-body was singing. The door being bolted, he jumped over the back wall, and found there a man and a woman having a good time with a bottle of wine. Omar, addressing the man in an angry tone exclaimed; "O enemy of God! didst thou think that thy sin shalt pass unnoticed?" The man, recognizing in the intruder the Caliph, cried: "O prince of the Faithful! Give me a patient hearing. If I am guilty of one sin, thou art guilty

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† Fatuh-al-Shám; Wáckidi, Muir's Annal's, p. 211.
‡ Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tarikh-al-Kholafa p. 97.

of three with thine acts contrary to the dictates of the Holy Book, which (a) enjoins thee not to be inquisitive. *Sur. XLIX-12.* (b) requires thee not to enter a house but from its doorway, especially prohibiting entry from behind the house as thou hast done. *Sur. II-185*, (c) ordains thee not to enter a house without leave of its occupants, and when so entered requires thee to salute them. *Sur. XXIV-27.*" Omar feeling ashamed of his ignorance of the Qurán, asked forgiveness of them for his intrusion in return for a forgiveness which, he said, he would accord to them for their sin. The man with repentance, promised never again to do it, and the Caliph, obtaining their forgiveness, departed.†

One day while walking through the city, Omar happened to see a robust good looking youth of the Ansárs. Wishing to be in touch with the youth he asked of him some water to drink. He presented a cup-ful of syrup prepared from honey. Omar professed his indignation at indulging in such a luxury and mooted out the verse, "Ye have already enjoyed good things in your life of this world." The youth at once rejoined, "And (on) the Day when they shall be set at the Fire—(they will be told) ye have already enjoyed good things in your life of this world." *Sur. XLVI-19.* Thus adding the first half of the verse recited by the Caliph, he said that the verse related to the Infidels, not to the Believers. Omar, there-upon, drinking the beverage exclaimed: "The people are better acquainted with the Ordinances of the Qurán than myself."‡

One day from the pulpit, Omar ordained that the people must not raise the wife's dowry beyond four hundred Dirhams, on penalty of forfeiture to the State of the amount in excess. A woman got up at once and protested against the ordinance, saying; "O son of Khattáb! Is the word of the Lord to be followed or thy word?" Omar replied, "Nay, not my word, but God's". Whereupon she recited: "And if ye desire to change a wife in place of

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† Izálat-al-Khifá from Ahyá-al-ulum.

‡ Ibn Abi-l-Hadid.

another, and have given the one of them a cow's skinful of riches, take not back from her any thing of it." *Sur. IV-24.* Thereupon, Omar, acknowledging that not only the men but even women had better knowledge of the ordinances of the Qurán than himself, withdrew his order.†

Omar's wit of Judgment.

Abdal Razzáq records that a woman went to Omar and said: "My husband rises in the night to pray and fasts all day," and Omar said, "Verily thou hast praised thy husband highly," whereon Ka'b b. Siwar exclaimed, "But she complains of him!" And Omar said, "how?" He replied, "she means that she has not her share of her husband's society." He answered," "then if thou thinkest that, judge between them." He said, "O prince of the Faithful ! the Lord hath permitted to him four wives, and to her of every four days, one day, and of every four nights, one night. *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 147.*

Jábir b. Abdalláh went to Omar and complained to him of the treatment he had met with from his women, and Omar said: "verily, I find the same, so much so that when I ask for anything I want, my wife says to me, "thou goest only after the girls of a certain tribe, watching for them. *Ibid.*

Omar's miscarriage of Justice.

"On the death of Otba, the Governor of Bussorah, Omar appointed Moghira b. Sho'ba (one of those who were of great assistance to Omar and Abubekr at the Saqifa election) in place of the deceased in 15 A.H. He was a man of repulsive aspect, one-eyed, red-haired and rude in manners. In his youth he had committed a murder at Táef. His harem consisted of no less than eighty women, still his vagrant passion was not satisfied. One Omm Jamil, wife of Hajáj b. Atik and a daughter of Afqam of the Bani Amir used to visit Moghira in private. She was a woman of loose character and was known to have illegal intercourse with some other chief men of Bussorah. As Moghira was not liked by the people on account of his bad morals and vicious habits,

†Ibn Abi-l-Hadid; Kanzal Ommál.

he was scorned and hated by the gentry, who watched his conduct. Abu Bekra, a leading chief of Bussorah, who lived opposite the house of Moghira, was one day sitting with his friends when the wind blew open the window, which he rose to shut; but all of a sudden he caught sight of the revolting scene which was being enacted in the opposite room by Moghira with Omm Jamil.

He called his friends Náfe', Ziyád and Shibl, who also witnessed the adultery and identified Omm Jamil when she got up. Soon after, Moghira issued forth to lead the public prayer, as usual. They shouted him off as an adulterer and immediately sent the information to Omar, the Caliph at Medina, who summoned Moghira to his presence to answer the charge. Before the Caliph, Moghira denied the accusation and said that it was his wife whom the accusers mistook for Omm Jamil. The witnesses, AbuBakra, Náfe', and Shibl deposed so that by any reasonable law of evidence the crime had been established, but there remained still one witness to give evidence.

It was Ziyád, who (according to Ibn Khallakán) when made his appearance, the Caliph said, "here is the man who can save a Mohájir." So it happened that there was a flaw in the deposition of Ziyád the fourth witness.†" And the Caliph, with an ill-concealed groan at the miscarriage of Justice, ordered the witnesses, who had brought the charge, to be scourged according to the law and the accused released. "Strike hard," cried the bare-faced culprit, addressing the unwilling minister of the law, "strike hard, and comfort my heart thereby." "Hold thy peace," said Omar, "it wanted little to convict thee; and then thou shouldst have been stoned to the death as an adulterer." "The guilty chief was silenced but not abashed." *Muir's Annals, p. 265.*

In afterdays Omar said to Moghira, "whenever I happen to see thee, I fear lest some stone may fall upon the sky. ‡ In 21 A. H. (642 A. D.) Moghira was

Ibn Athir,
Ibid.

again appointed by Omar as Governor of Kufa.

Omar's watch over the citizens.

One night when Omar went forth on his usual round in the city; he heard an Arab woman singing:

This night when stars wander in their mighty journey, is wearisome.
And keeps me sleepless, for I have none with whom I may be merry;
And, by Alláh, were there no God whose issues were to be feared!
But I fear a Watcher, who keepeth ward
Over our souls, and whose recorder never is negligent.
The fear of the Lord and shame hindereth me.
And my husband, too worthy of honour that his place should be taken.

Omar kept hearing. At last he exclaimed, "what is the matter with thee?" She replied: "Thou hast sent my husband on service for some months and I pine for him." He said: "Dost thou desire to do evil?" She replied: "God forbid." Then he said, "restrain thyself, for verily a messenger shall go to him." When Omar came back to his house, he enquired of his daughter Hafsa, after how long a woman begins to pine for the society of a man? She hinted at four months. So the Caliph issued orders that the troops should not be kept on service for more than four months.‡

Omar's Innovations.

Omar was the First who adopted the use of the Scourge. *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His.*

Omar was the first who assembled the people to prayers over the dead with only four Takbirs. *Ibid.*

Omar was the first who prohibited (Mutá') marriage limited to a term. *Ibid.*

Omar was the first who instituted Al-Taráwih of the month of Ramadzán. *Ibid.*

Omar was the first who adopted the title "Commander of the Faithful." *Ibid.*

‡ Suyuti.

Omar's death account.

"† Al-Zohri states that Omar used not to suffer a captive, who had reached the age of puberty, to enter Medina, but al-Moghira b. Sho'ba, the governor of Kufa, wrote to him and mentioned to him that he had with him a youth, a cunning workman, and asked his permission that he might enter Medina; and added that he was a master of several arts profitable to the people, for he was a blacksmith, an engraver and a carpenter. Omar therefore gave him permission to send him to Medina; and al-Moghira put a tax upon him of one hundred dirhams a month. He, however, went to Omar and complained of the severity of the tax, but Omar replied that the tax was not excessive. He therefore departed indignantly murmuring. Omar waited some days and then sent for him and said, "Was not I informed that thou sayest that if thou wouldst thou art able to make a mill that will grind by means of the wind"? He looked upon Omar sullenly and said, "Verily I will make a mill for thee that men shall talk about." When he retired, Omar said to those that were about him, "the slave but now threatened me." After a little, Abu Lulu took a double bladed dagger, having its haft in the middle, and hid in a corner of one of the recesses of the Mosque before day-break and remained there until Omar came forth, rousing the people for prayers, and when he drew near him, he stabbed him with three blows (Ibn Sa'd)." Of the wounds he received, the gash at the centre of Omar's abdomen below the navel was fatal.

"The wounded Caliph was carried to his family, and the sun being about to rise, Abd-al-Rahmán b. Awf read prayers before the people with the two shortest Suras. They brought Omar date-wine, and he drank of it and it came out of his wound, but it could not be distinguished from the blood; they therefore gave him milk, and it came out of his wound, and they said: "there is no harm to thee," and he answered, "if there be harm in being slain,

† Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti p. 138.

why then I am slain." *Jarret's trans. of Suyati's Tarikh-al-Kholafa, p. 138.*

Omar summoned Abd-al-Rahmán, who stanched the wounds. Then he summoned Ali, Othmán, Zobeir and Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás and told them that he chose six of the Companions of the Prophet to be the electors of his successor from amongst themselves. He || named Abd-al-Rahmán b. Awf, Othmán b. Affán, Ali b. Abi Tálib, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, Zobeir b. Al-Awám, and Talha b. Obeidalláh. The last named being out of Medina at the time, he asked the others to wait three days for him or if he did not come within three days, the electors were enjoined to decide the matter without him † Meanwhile, he said, ‡ Sohaib shall lead the public prayers. When they had departed, he called ¶ Miqbád b. Aswad Kindi, a veteran Companion of the Prophet, and desired him to assemble the electors after his death in one place, at the same time directing Abu Talha Ansár, a warrior of some note, to take his stand at the door with a guard of fifty men and to allow no one beside the electors, excepting his son Abdalláh, and ordered that the selection should not be prolonged beyond three days. Then addressing his son, the Caliph said, "And list thee, Abdalláh, thou shouldst have a voice in the election. In case they disagree, then be thou with the majority, or if the votes be equal, then choose thou that side on which is Abd-al-Rahmán; and if the minority then resisted, they should be beheaded on the spot." ††

Nomination of electors and the mode of election of the successor.

[Note. A wonderful plan of the dying Caliph Omar to dispose of Ali! Sa'd and Abd-al-Rahmán were cousins, and the last named, having married a sister of Othmán, was in close touch with him. These three were sure to support each other. Abdalláh b. Omar, siding Abd-al-

|| Sharh Fiqah Akbar by Mulla Ali Qári.
† Muir's Annals. p. 280. ‡ Kámil Ibn Athir.
¶ Tabari; Ibn Athir.
†† Tabari vol V p. 34 & 35; Kámil Ibn Athir.

Rahmân, was to form the majority. Of the minority, Ali, being the only discomfited claimant, was expected naturally to resist and therefore to be beheaded on the spot].

¶ Ali complained to Abbâs, his uncle, that he was sure to be outvoted in the conclave. Abbâs advised him not to join the bogus election, but Ali would not listen to him, thinking thus to avoid being blamed of absence and neglect in putting forward his claim at the right moment.

Crowds had assembled at the doors and now they were permitted to come in and see the wounded Caliph. There is the tradition that Ibn Abbâs had a long conversation with Omar, pressing forward the rights of the Prophet's family to the Caliphate, but Omar answered attributing the claim to envy ‡. This shows that the inclusion of Ali's name in the conclave was not genial but with the policy of creating a chance to do away with him for good.

Omar was noted as a stern advocate of vengeance, and of a fiery and impatient temper. He was ever ready to unsheathe his sword to put a prisioner to death. ††

The people began to praise the wounded Caliph, saying "thou wert such and such," but he said, "yet by Allâh, I would that I might escape from Judgment with these as a sufficiency, nothing due by me nor to me, and that the companionship of the Apostle of God were a security unto me." Then Ibn Abbâs praised him, but he said—"if the fulness of the earth in gold were mine, assuredly I would ransom myself therewith from the terror of the Day of Resurrection.." *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 139.*

At times he would exclaim, "O that my mother had not borne me"; "would that I had been a stalk of grass instead ||,"

¶ Abul Fida; Tabari; Ibn Athir.
‡ Muir's Annals p. 282.
†† Ibid p. 284.
|| Ibn Athir.

Omar was stabbed on Wednesday the 26th of Zhul Hajja, 23 A. H. and was buried on Sunday the 1st of Moharram, 24 A. H. He was about 63 years of age at the time of his death. Sohaib prayed over the bier with four Takbirs. He was buried by the side of his friend Abubekr near the Prophet's tomb. He reigned ten years six months and four or eight days. He reported 539 traditions from the Apostle of God.

Omar's appearance after death in dreams.

Ibn Sa'd records on the authority of Sálim bin Abdalláh b. Omar, that he said, I heard a man of the Auxiliaries say, I prayed to God that he would show me Omar in sleep, and I saw him after ten years and he was wiping the sweat from his forehead, and I said, O prince of the Faithful! What hast thou been doing? He replied, I have but now been freed from judgment, and had it not been for the mercy of my God, I had perished." *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 152.*

And from Zaid b. Aslam that Abdalláh b. Amr b. As saw Omar in sleep and he said: "How hast thou fared?" He replied, "How long is it that I left you?" He answered, "Twelve years." He said, "Verily, it is even now that I am free from Judgment†." *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 162.*

CHAPTER XX.

Othman, the third Caliph.

In the death account of Caliph Omar, it has been already narrated how, on his death-bed, he nominated six electors, the Companions of the Prophet, to choose from amongst themselves his successor; with injunctions to assemble after his death for the purpose, and not to delay the choice, beyond the third day of their deliberations. After Omar's death, when his burial was over, Miqdád assembled the electors *viz.* Abd-al-Rahmán, Othmán, Sa'd, Zobeir, and Ali according to the dictates of Omar. Talha was not yet come. The conclave was held in the house of Miswar, a nephew of Abd-al-Rahmán, the door of which was guarded by Abu Talha Ansár with fifty soldiers against intrusion by any one else, excepting Abdalláh, the son of Omar, who was to have his casting vote in case of necessity. Moghira b. Sho'ba and Amr b. As, however, stationed themselves at the door to make it appear that they too had a hand in the affair.†

The Conclave 24. A. H.

Though now every body, however insignificant in his antecedents, had a right, from the example of the two Caliphs, to aspire to claim the Caliphate; but amongst these six electors Ali was the only one who had by far the strongest claims to it in view of his being noble by birth, of his being the nearest in kinship with the Prophet and being the closest in touch with him from his childhood, of his priority in Islam, of his knowledge of the Qurán, of his valour, of his judicious reasonings and, last of all though not the least, of his having been proclaimed by the Prophet his vicegerent and to stand in relation to him as Aaron was to Moses. Omar, however, raised five open claimants to compete with him and they wasted two days in unprofitable wrangling, each pressing his own claim.

†Tabari Vol. V p. 36.

face upward looking towards the heavens and prayed thus aloud, 'O Lord! hear me and bear me witness, verily what it was around my neck, I place the same around the neck of Othmán.' Forthwith he saluted Othmán as Caliph and the people followed his example.

† "It is not the first occasion that I have been deprived of my legitimate rights, but thou hast not been free of self-interest and partiality," said Ali to Abd-al-Rahmán, who was keen enough to warn Ali sharply with these words: "Beware, lest thou makest a way against thy own self", hinting at Omar's order to behead those who resisted. So Ali passed out with these words upon his lips. ¶"Surely patience becometh me; the help of God is to be implored against that which ye devise". *Sur. XII-18.*

Everlasting disastrous effects of the choice.

Sir W. Muir in his Annals of the Early Caliphate, says:—

"The choice of Abd-al-Rahmán laid the seeds of disaster for Islam at large, and for the Caliphate in particular. It led to dissensions which for years bathed the Moslem world in blood, threatened the very existence of the Faith, and to this day divides believers in a hopeless and embittered schism."

Inauguration of Othman and his first Address. 24 A. H.

It was the 3rd, || 4th or 5th* of Moharram, 24 A. H. in November, 644 A. D., that Othmán was inaugurated as Caliph. **On Friday following the inauguration, he ascended the pulpit to deliver his inaugural address to the public. But he was impeded in his speech in preaching, whereupon he exclaimed, "O ye people! the first attempt is a hard task, but after today, there are yet days, and if I live, the discourse will come to ye after its wont, for we were never preachers, but the Lord will teach us." (Ibn Sa'd). *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 169.*

Othman's first court of justice.

Scarcely was Othmán established in office when a perplexing case was brought to him for decision against a son of Omar, the late

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† Tárikh Kámil; Abul Fida. ¶ Tabari; Ibn Athir; Abul Fida.
|| Abul Fida. *A'sam Kufi. **Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

Caliph. The facts of the case were as follows :—

† Obeidalláh, the son of Omar, was told by Abd-al-Rahmán son of Abubekr that the day before Omar's assassination he had seen Abu Lulu, the assassin, in private discourse with the Persian prince named Hormuzán and a Christian slave of Sa'd named Jofina, and that, on being surprised by him, the three separated dropping in their confusion a double bladed dagger with its haft in the middle. The description of the dagger answered that with which Omar was wounded; therefore Obeidalláh, suspecting a conspiracy, grew infuriated, rushed with a drawn sword to avenge the death of his father, and rashly fell upon Hormuzán whom he slew. Proceeding on to the place of the slave, he slew Jofina and then the daughter of Abu Lulu. He was seized at last by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás and kept a prisoner pending the conclusion of the conclave, which was then in progress. The next day after the inauguration of Othmán, Sa'd brought Obeidalláh to Othmán demanding retaliatory punishment in accordance with the law for the murder of a Believer; for Hormuzán professed the Moslem faith, received stipend of 2000 dirhams from the Exchequer and was under the protection of Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet.

Othmán was perplexed between the letter of the law and the odium of following the murder of the father (Omar) by the execution of the son (Obeidalláh). There was not a bit of evidence or even presumption against the prince. Summoning a Council, Othmán asked their advice. Ali and several others declared that the law must be satisfied by the execution of the culprit. Several others said that they were shocked at the idea that the Commander of the Faithful was slain but the other day and today his son be put to death. At length to the great relief of Othmán, Amr b. As hit upon a stratagem suggesting that as the act of Obeidalláh took place in the interregnum between the Caliphates of Omar and Othmán, it did not come under the cognizance of either. Othmán

† Tabari; Ibn Athir ; Rawzat-al-Ahbáb ; Habib-al-Siyar.

gladly availed himself of the quibble and ordered the release of Obeidalláh. He desired to compensate the murder by payment of a sum of money from the public treasury, but Ali protested against the process. So Othmán paid the ransom money from his own pocket.† Obeidalláh escaped unpunished and the murder of the once magnificent Hormuzán, the Persian prince, remained unavenged. Some feeling was excited and the people said that the Caliph was already departing from the Law. Ziyád b. Lobid, a poet of Medina, satirised both the murderer and the Caliph who had let him off, in stinging verse. But he was silenced and the matter dropped.

On the third day of his Caliphate (Moharram, 24 A.H.) Othmán deposed Moghira b. Sho'ba from the government of Kufa and appointed Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás in his place. *Rawdzat-al-Ahbab.*

The year of Hæmorrhage 24 A H.

In this year (24 A. H.) the people were attacked by a malady in which blood issued from the nose, and it was therefore called the "year of the hæmorrhage". *Ibid.*

This hæmorrhage seized Othmán, so that he was detained from the Haj Pilgrimage and deputed another in his stead. *Jarret's Trans. of Suyuti's His. p. 159.* ‡There is the tradition related by Ibn Hejer in his work Tathir al Jinán, on page 141, that the Prophet said: "One of the oppressors from the Omyyads shall step upon my pulpit and he will be seized with bleeding from his nose."

Appointment of Walid as Governor of Kufa.

In the year 25 A. H. Othmán appointed his uterine brother Walid b. Oqba b. Abi Mo'ait to the government of Kufa, deposing Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás. Walid ¶was a drunkard, a notorious debauchee and a man of scandalous fame. His father Oqba was taken prisoner in the battle of Bedr and when he was about to be put to

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† Tabari; Ibn Athir; Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.
‡ Zákir Husain's History of Islam Vol. III p. 124.
¶ Mas'udi

death, he despairingly said, "who will take care of my children," and the Prophet replied, "Hell fire." Walid was one of the same children. The Caliph got a bad name for favouritism to his unworthy relations.

Extension of Ka'ba boundries.

In the year 26 A. H. while on pilgrimage at Mecca, Othmán, desiring an extension of the enclosure of the Ka'ba edifice, ordered the purchase of the houses adjoining the existing boundary walls. Some owners refused to sell their houses, which he ordered to be forcibly acquired. They proceeded to Medina and lodged their grievances before the Caliph against the acquisition by force. They were arrested and imprisoned, but afterwards released on the recommendation of Abdalláh b. Khálid b. Osaid. *Ibn Athir.*

Appointment of Abdallah b Abi Sarh as Governor of Egypt.

† In the same year, Othmán removed Amr b. As, the conqueror of Egypt, from his government of Egypt and appointed his own foster brother Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh in his place. This Abdalláh was the same who is alluded to in *Sur. VI-93*. Amr came back to Medina and took his abode, as Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás the ex-governor of Kufa had done. Both these men together busied themselves with criticising the Caliph's public and private actions; and (according to Habib-al-Siyar) the opposition reached to such a pitch that Amr, who had a sister of Othmán's in his wedlock, divorced her. Every man's mouth was now full of grievous accusations against the Caliph, charging him with nepotism.

Lavish Gifts. 26 A. H.

In this year and in the year following (*i. e.*, A. H. 26-27) conquests were extended in Africa from beyond Egypt in the east to as far as Morocco in the west, comprising almost the whole territory along the sea-coast viz. Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. Immense spoils of war were hoarded up by the conquerors, and a fifth of the booty was sent to the Caliph for the public treasury, which was devoted to the poor. Othmán bestowed the whole of it, including the

† Abul Fida; Habib-al-Siyar.

portion which was set apart for the family of the Prophet*, upon his secretary Marwán. It amounted to five hundred thousand Dinars.¶

Marwán's father Hakam b. al As was banished from Medina for life by the Prophet and for this reason he was not recalled by either of Othmán's predecessors *i. e.* Abubekr and Omar. Hakam and Marwán were near relations of Othmán, the former being uncle and the latter a cousin to him. He recalled both of them and reinstated them †. He gave his daughter in marriage ‡ to Marwán and made him his own Secretary and beside the above mentioned gift of the war spoils he granted Marwán Fadak § (the property claimed by Fátema) as a Jaghyr, which remained in his possession and in possession of his posterity till the time when Omar b. Abd-al-Aziz in the 2nd century restored it back to its original owners, the posterity of Fátema.

Othmán bestowed lavish gifts upon his relations and parasites. For instance, once he gave one hundred thousand Dinárs to Hakam. He bestowed upon his cousin Hárith b. Hakam, who had married a daughter of Othmán's, the right of levying the tax on the sales (1/10th of the sale proceeds) conducted in the market of Medina.** This income was devoted to the poor by the Prophet. Three hundred thousand Dinárs were granted to Abdalláh b. Khálid b. Osaid, a parasite who was the son of a cousin of Othmán's father. Likewise, he gifted four hundred thousand Dinárs to his foster brother Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh, the Apostate, whom he had made governor of Egypt.

Appointment of Abdallah b. Amir as Governor of Bussorah.

In the year 28 A. H. the Caliph removed Abu Musa Ash'ari from the government of Bussorah and appointed his own cousin ††Abdalláh b. Amir, a youth of but 25 years in place of Abu Musa.

* W. Irving p. 161.
† Ibn Abd Rabia; Abul Fida.
¶ Abul Fida.
‡ Milal wa Nahal Shohristani.
§ Abul Fida Vol. I p. 169; Ibn. Abd Rabia; Ibn Qotaiba.
** Ibn Abd Rabia in Aqdal Farid.
†† Abul Fida.

In the same year Othmán married Náela, a Christian lady. He had built a palace for her at Medina.

In the same year Cyprus and Rhodes were captured.

Revolt in Persia.

During the year 29 A. H. there had been a revolt in Persia. Astakhar, Ispehan and Shiráz had to be recaptured.

A rash and unjust decision.

† In the same year a woman, who gave birth to a child after only six months of her marriage, was brought before the Caliph for punishment on a presumption of fornication. Othmán ordered her to be stoned to death. They carried her for execution of the sentence, when Ali got information of it. He at once interviewed Othmán and explained to him the law of the Lord which meant that the least limit of pregnancy was six months, and therefore no woman who gave birth after this period should be suspected of adultery, unless there was evidence against her for her adultery. Othmán, ashamed of his rash and unjust decision, at once sent men forbidding her execution, but by the time the messengers reached, she had already been stoned to death.

Revival of Heathenish custom.

†† In the same year (29 A. H.) when Osmán made his pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced several innovations, and amongst others he followed the practice of his heathen predecessors and erected a spacious tent on the plains of Miná under which he distributed various provisions to the pilgrims, although the Prophet had carefully abolished this custom as a relic of heathenism.

Action contrary to the teachings and practice of the Prophet.

‡ The Prophet and his two successors, Abubekr and Omar, or even Othmán himself at Miná and Arafát, used to shorten by two prostrations all the prayers which are usually read with four prostrations; but on this occasion (29 A.H. Pilgrimage) Othmán did not shorten

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† Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

†† Ibid; Izálatal Khifa Persian V. II. p. 248; Dr. Weil quoted by Ockley p. 280.

‡ Ibid.

the prayers. This action, being contrary to the teachings and practice of the Founder of the Faith, was resented by the Moslems in general and by the leading or prominent Companions of the Prophet in particular; and it was a cause of great indignation and prejudice against the Caliph.

Recension of the Quran 30 A. H.

"Differences arose in the recitation of the sacred text of the Qurân in the vast dominions of the Mohammedan Empire. Bussorah followed the reading of Abu Musa Ash'ari; Kufa was guided by the authority of Ibn Mas'ud, their Chancellor; and the text of Hims differed from that in use even at Damascus. Hozhaifa urged Othmân to restore the unity of the Divine Word. The Caliph called for samples of the manuscripts in use throughout the Empire and then appointed a Syndicate to collate these copies with the sacred originals still in the keeping of Hafsa. Under their supervision the variations were reconciled and an authoritative Examplar written out, of which duplicates were deposited at Mecca and Medina, Kufa and Damascus. From these Examplars, copies were multiplied and broadcasted over the Empire; all former manuscripts were called in and committed to flames; and the Standard Text was brought into exclusive use. Ibn Mas'ud at Kufa, who prided himself on his faultless recitation of the Oracle, pure as it fell from the Prophet's lips, was much displeased; and the charge of Sacrilege, in having burnt the former copies of the Sacred text, was readily circulated among the factious citizens. By and by the charge was spread abroad and was taken up with avidity by the enemies of Othmân." *Muir's Annals p. 307.*

Walid's Deposition and Sa'id's Appointment. 30 A. H.

† Walid, the Governor of Kufa, on an occasion in a state of inebriation conducted the morning Service with four prostrations, instead of the usual two as prescribed by the Prophet. The congregation which consisted of several pious persons, like Ibn Mas'ud, was much incensed and still more irritated when, finishing the four

† Mas'udi in Morawij-al-Zahb; Ibn Qutaiba; Ibn Athir.

prostrations, Walid said to the people, " What a pleasant morn! I would like to extend the Service further if ye consent." Repeated complaints were already made to the Caliph against Walid on account of his debauchery, but as often dismissed. People now reproached Othmán for not listening to their grievances, and favouring such a scoundrel. Perchance they succeeded in taking off the Signet Ring from the hand of the Governor while he lay senseless from the effects of a debauch, and carried it off to Medina. Still the Caliph was slow and hesitated to enforce punishment upon the governor, his uterine brother; giving cause to be himself reproachfully accused of ignoring the law; though at last he was persuaded to have Walid scourged with 40 stripes. He was consequently deposed from his office. Sa'id b. al As, a cousin of Othmán's was appointed to take his place.

Othman's Threats to the Public. Ammar ill-treated. 30 A. H.

It was a matter of great reproach against Othmán that he bestowed lavish gifts from the public treasury, upon his parasites and kinsmen, who were hated and abhorred by the Prophet. For instance he gave one hundred thousands Dinárs to Hakam; four hundred thousands to Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh; five † hundred thousands to Marwán. Murmurs rose against him on all sides and daily increased in virulence. His conduct, both public and private, was scrutinised. "At ‡ last in a public assembly Othmán told them, that the money which was in the treasury was sacred and belonged to God, and that he (as being the successor of the Prophet) would, in spite of them, dispose of it as he thought fit; and threatened and cursed all who should presume to censure or murmer at what he said." Upon this, Ammár b. Yásir, one of the primitive Molems of whom the Prophet himself had said that he was filled with faith from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, boldly declared his disapprobation and began to

† Adul Fida. ‡ Ockley's His Sar. p. 280.

charge him with his inveterate propensity to ignore the interests of the general public; accused him with reviving the heathenish customs abolished by the Prophet in utter disregard of the sacred example set by the Founder of the Faith. Whereupon Othmán commanded him to be ¶ beaten and immediately some of the Bani Omyyads, the kindred of the Caliph fell upon the venerable Ammár, the Caliph himself kicking him down; and he was beaten till he swooned. Bani Makhzum, the descendants of Ammár's uncle, hearing all this, carried Ammár away and swore, that if Ammár died of the hurts received by him, they would avenge themselves upon Othmán.

The outrage offered to the special favourite of the Prophet was promulgated far and wide and contributed largely to raise the prevailing general discontent.

Change in the National Character of Arabs.

The conquests of Persia, Syria and Egypt produced a great effect on the national character and habits of the once simple Arabs. The everlasting luxury and soft voluptuousness of the magnificent royal cities of the conquered countries sapped the rude simplicity of the Arabian deserts. Gorgeous palaces, crowds of slaves, multitudes of horses, camels, flocks and herds, profusion of costly garments; sumptuous fare, splendid equipage, idle games and sports now became the fashion of the day throughout the Empire. For instance, Othmán had built for himself a palace, an imposing building in Medina with marble pillars, grand gates and gardens. He had built 6 other palaces, one for Náela his wife and one for each of his daughters. He had got multitudes of slaves, thousands of horses, camels and flocks. His properties at Wádi-al-Qora, Honein etc. valued at more than one hundred thousand Dinárs. He is said to have amassed vast treasures. On his death one hundred and fifty thousands of Dinárs and ten hundred thousands of Dirhams were found in cash with his treasurer. Zobeir had built palaces at Kufa, Fostat, Alexandria and most of the great cities of the

¶ Tarikh-al-Khamis; A'tham Kufi.

Empire. The one at Bussorah existed till the fourth century. His landed Estate in Iraq yielded 1,000 golden pieces a day. He had got no less than one thousand horses and as many slaves. Talha had got palaces at Kufa, Medina etc. His daily income in Iráq and Náhiya Saráh amounted to more than 2,000 Dinárs. Abd-al-Rahmán had one thousand camels, ten thousand sheep and 100 horse. He left property valued at between 3 and 4 hundred thousand Dinárs. Zaid left gold and silver in great ingots and landed property valued at 10,000 Dinárs. Mo'áwiya in Syria excelled all of them in pomp and show of wordly riches.†

Banishment of Abuzharr Ghifari, 30 A.H.

Abu Zharr Ghifári, a venerable Companion of the Prophet and an ascetic in habits, who now lived in Syria, inveighed against the riches and extravagance of the day—evils, which were altogether alien to the simplicity of the Prophet and which rushing in like a flood, were now demoralising the people. The spirit of the ascetic was stirred at the pomps and vanities so rife around him and he preached repentance to the inhabitants of Damascus. "This gold and silver of yours," he cried, "shall one day be heated red hot in the fire of hell; and therewith shall ye be seared in your forehead, sides and back, ye ungodly spendthrifts!" *Sur. IX-35.* He preached against the prevailing inroads of profligacy and the practice of forbidden pastimes, music, wine and gambling. Crowds flocked to hear him.

Uneasy at the disturbance by caused these diatribes in the public mind, ‡ Mo'áwiya, apprehensive of the spread of communistic doctrines, wrote against Abu Zharr to the Caliph, who ordered his removal to Medina at once. || Mo'áwiya, in compliance with the Caliph's order despatched Abu Zharr to Medina on a bad tempered, unsaddled camel guided by a rude and harsh driver. Abu Zharr, an old man with white hair from

† Mas'udi; Muir's Annals.
‡ Mas'udi in Morawij-al-Zahb. || Muir's Annals p. 309 & 310.

head to foot, tall, thin and lean reached Medina with his legs bruised and bleeding and his whole frame aching with pain. He was received by the Caliph with hot words, upon which Abu Zharr fearlessly declared that he had heard the Prophet say, "† When the posterity of Abul-As numbered thirty, they will count the riches of the Lord as their own and will treat His people as their own servants and slaves. They will deviate from the right path. Then they will be freed from them by their Lord." Othmán was so much displeased at this that he banished Abu Zharr subsequently to Rabazha, a wilderness in the desert of Nejd, where, two years after, he died in penury and neglect.

Abu Zharr was one of the four ¶ persons whose love was particularly enjoined by the Prophet declaring that they were loved by God. He was treated by the Prophet as a friend. When he felt his end approach, the hermit desired his daughter to slay a kid and have it ready for a party of travellers, who, he said, would shortly pass that way and bury him; then making her turn his face towards Ka'ba, he quietly breathed his last. Soon after, the expected party came up and amongst them was Málik-al-Ashtar from Kufa (according to some, Ibn Mas'ud) who, weeping over him, bewailed his fate and buried him on the spot on which he died. ††

The plaintive tale of the harsh treatment, meted to the preacher of righteousness, was fresh in every one's mouth as a serious ground of complaint against the Caliph. ||

‡ A few days after it, the death of Ibn Mas'ud who was ill-treated by Othmán forfeiting his stipend for his refusal to give up his manuscript of the Qurán for being burnt, added to the pathos of the incident.

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† Tárikh Ibn Wádzeh; Mas'udi.

¶ Tirmizhi, Hákim, quoted by Suyuti p. 173.

†† Tárikh Ibn Wádzeh; Mas'udi.

|| Mas'udi; Rawdzat-al-Safá; A'tham Kufi.

‡ Tárikh Ibn Wádzeh; Masudi.

In the seventh year of his caliphate, an ominous incident occurred to Othmán in the loss of the Signet Ring, which was accidentally dropped and disappeared in the well Aris in the suburbs of Medina. It was a silver ring inscribed with the words 'Mohammed the Apostle of God'. It originally belonged to the Prophet, who had it made in the year 6 A. H. for sealing the letters sent by him to foreign Courts. After his death, the ring was used and worn by Abubekr and Omar as the symbol of Command. Othmán also used it as such and its loss was considered to be of sinister import. All efforts to recover the precious relic were vain. The omen weighed heavy on the mind of Othmán, though the ring was replaced by another made of the like pattern.

Loss of Othman's Signet Ring. 30. A. H.

In 31 A. H. Yezdjird the Persian Emperor, who was fleeing from fortress to fortress to save himself from the pursuing Moslems, was murdered at Merv by a mill-owner with whom he had sought shelter. Thus the Persian Government ended with its last monarch and all the territories belonging to it finally came under the sway of Islam.

End of Persian Emperor and Empire.

In 32 A. H. a riot broke out at Bussorah but was, for the moment, suppressed by Ibn Amir the Governor.

Riot at Bussorah.

About the year 33 A. H. a revolt broke out at Kufa. It was mainly due to the tyranny of the Governor, Sa'id b. al-As a consin of Othmán's. He had excited the hatred of the principal citizens, but since he particularly offended Málik b. al Ashtar, who was a leading chief and a great favourite of theirs, they assembled every day in Málik's house and criticised the Governor's public and private actions, seeking every opportunity to bring contempt not only upon the administration of Sa'id but also upon that of the Caliph. One day Sa'id sent an Officer to disperse the assemblage but they fell upon him beating him till he fainted. Sa'id appealed to the Caliph against the machinations of the ringleaders. Othmán

Revolt at Kufa.

ordered that twenty of the ringleaders might be expelled to Syria, where their conduct would be properly watched by the vigilant Mo'áwiya. Consequently Málik-al-Ashtar; Thábit b. Qais; Amir b. Qais; Komail b. Ziyád; Jondab b. Ka'b; Zaid b. Sohán; Orwa b. al-Jo'd; So'sa'a b. Sohán; Omeir b. Sábi; Amr b. al-Homaq and ten others were banished to Syria. Mo'áwiya quartered them in the Church of St. Mary; and, in regard to their being men of rank and position, endeavoured to conciliate them by mildness, but they never refrained from reviling and abusing the house of the Omyyads in general and the Caliph in particular. It happened that one day after a sharp discussion upon the subject with Mo'áwiya, they actually fell upon him aud seized his beard †. Mo'áwiya, however, only cried out, "Mind! ye are not in Kufa, if my Syrians only knew of your insults, by heavens, I shall not be able to save ye from being torn to pieces." Then Mo'áwiya, hopeless of pacifying them, wrote to Othmán all about them. The Caliph instructed him to transfer his turbulent charge to Abd-al-Rahmán son of Khálid b. Walid, who was governor at Hims, and who was expected to treat them befittingly after his own rude and rough fashion. When they reached Hims, Abd-al-Rahmán did not for a whole month grant them audience. At last he received them very rudely, reviled them whenever they happened to appear before him and made them trot by his horse talking to them while he rode out. Thus he soon reduced them to submission and at length they were permitted to return to Kufa. But Málik continued to reside at Hims till he received news that Sa'id was absent from Kufa on a visit to Medina.

Malik's return to Kufa. Abu Musa-al-Ash'ari appointed Governor. 34 A. H.

Málik-al-Ashtar repaired to Kufa in 34 A. H. in the absence of Sa'id, the Governor, and resumed his place at the head of the disaffected people of Kufa. When Sa'id returned to Kufa, he found his way barred by the inhabitants, who had

† Abul Fida.

assembled in great numbers upon the walls to intercept his entry. Alarmed at their hostile attitude, Sa'id retraced his steps to Medina. The Caliph, to make a virtue of the necessity, acceded to the wishes of the Kufa men, who desired that Abu Musa Ash'ari might be appointed in place of Sa'id.

Weakness of Othman realised by the people.

Though Othmán was already falling rapidly in popular esteem as will appear from the following illustrations, still more by yielding to the insurgents the weak Caliph committed an error fatal to his government. The people around him looked upon him with contempt, while those in distant parts of the Empire, who were suffering the hardships and tyranny of the despotic governors, realising the weakness of Othmán, were emboldened to raise their voice for redress. Seditious letters were now freely exchanged; thus even from Medina messages reached the provinces that the sword would soon be needed there at home rather than in foreign lands.†

Illustrations of Contumelious treatment of Othman.

Sa'id b. al As, the governor of Kufa, being angry with Hishám b. Otba, a nephew of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, had the house of Hishám at Kufa burnt to ashes. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, a veteran Companion of the Prophet, the ex-Governor of Kufa and now a leading citizen of Medina, approached Othmán and demanded retaliatory punishment on Sa'id and amends to the injured. Waiting some time, when he saw that nothing was done by the Caliph, Sa'd, backed by Ayesha, fired the house of Sa'id in Medina and the Caliph could not take any step against him.‡

"Abdal-Rahmán b. Awf who, no doubt, felt a large measure of responsibility for the share he took in the election of Othmán, was about this time removed by death. But even he was dissatisfied, and one of the first open denunciations of Othmán's unscrupulous disregard of law—small it might be, but significant—is attributed

† Ibn Qoteiba.
‡ Zákir Hosain's History of Islam vol. iii p. 138.

to him. A fine camel, having come in with the tithes of a Bedouin tribe, was presented by the Caliph, as a rarity, to one of his kinsfolk. Abd-al-Rahmán, scandalised at the misappropriation of religious property devoted to the poor, laid hands upon the animal, slaughtered it and divided the flesh among the people. The personal reverence attaching heretofore to the successor of the Prophet of the Lord gave place to slight and disregard."

"Even in the streets, Othmán was greeted with cries demanding that he should depose Ibn Amir and the godless Abu Sarh, and put away from him Marwán, his chief adviser and confident."

"Amr (b. As), who had become a petulant mal-content ever since his deposition, is represented as speaking contumeliously of Othmán to his very face, and Othmán is represented as returning it in kind, calling him a louse in his garments." *W. Muir's Annals, p. 324.*

List of charges against Othman.

† It will not be out of place to give here, from the endless roll of charges against the caliph Othmán, a list of the most conspicuous complaints of the general public.

1. To have revived certain heathenish customs which the Prophet had carefully abolished. (See page 333.)
2. To have acted contrary to the teachings and practice of the Prophet in performing the prayers at Mina and Arafát. (See page 333).
3. To have acted against the precedents of Abubekr and Omar by his taking seat on the uppermost step of the pulpit where the Prophet used to sit.
4. To have recalled Hakam and Marwán who were banished by the Prophet. *Abul Fida.* (See page 332.)
5. To have committed to flames the sacred manuscripts of the Qurán. (See page 334.)
6. To have bestowed lavish gifts upon his relations and parasites from the religious properties devoted to the poor. (See page 331.)

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† Imámat Wal Siyásat; Tárikh-al-Khamis.

7. To have deposed venerable Companions of the Prophet from their posts to make room for his own ungodly relations. (See pages 330, 331 and 332.)
8. To have ill-treated Ammár Yásir, a venerable Companion of the Prophet. (See page 335.)
9. To have ill-treated and banished the pious Abu Zharr, a favourite of the Prophet, to a wilderness where he died in penury, his stipened having been forfeited. (See pege 337.)
10. Te have ill-treated Abdalláh b. Mas'ud and to have forfeited his stipend. (See page 338.)
11. To have banished Málik-al-Ashtar and Ka'b from Kufa. (See page 339.)
12. To have banished Obeida b. Sámit as a punishment for his cutting open the skins-full of wine carried to Mo'áwiya. *Tarikh-al-Khamis; Imamat Wal Siyasat.*
13. To have allowed the people of his House the exclusive use of the rain water collected in cisterns for general use. *Ibid.*
14. To have reserved the pasture grounds exclusively for the use of his own animals. *Ibid.*
15. To have restricted the Seas exclusively for his own trade vessels. *Ibid.*
16. To have decried Abd-al-Rahmán b. Awf as hypocrite. The poeple said that if Abd-al-Rahmán was a hypocrite, then his choice of Othmán as Caliph was illegal; or if he was maliciously decried by Othmán then Othmán was undeserving of Caliphate. *Ibid.*

Ominous Sounds of Warnings.

When Málik-al-Ashtar together with the other leading men of Kufa was banished, Ka'b b. Abda, a man famous for his piety, wrote to Othmán from Kufa protesting against the banishment, and warning him against the impending dangers which the tyranny of Sa'id was bringing about. On receiving the message, Othmán was very angry and desired that the messenger should be imprisoned or severely beaten, but on the interference of Ali he was allowed to go back unmolested. Othmán, however, wrote

to Sa'id, who scourged Ka'b and banished him. Upon this Talha and Zobeir expostulated with Othmân and warned him that they feared lest his maladministration should result in an outburst like volcanic fires and engulf him. Othmân consequently wrote to Sa'id, who called back Ka'b from exile.†

Meanwhile, people from every province came in, asking the leading citizens of Medina their way to get rid of the oppressions and cruelties they were suffering at the hands of the despotic governors. Moved by their appeals, Ali repaired to Othmân and said: "People complaining against thy governors have come to seek redress, and they hold thee responsible for the actions of thine Governors; they blame thee for not listening to their grievances repeatedly put forward by them. Beware of treason lest it should rage like the foaming waves of the seas. Fear God and do justice to them so that they might return satisfied." Othmân replied: "I have done my best. As for the Governors, wouldst thou not concede that the governors of my appointment are not any the worse than Moghira b. Sho'ba, who was appointed by Omar to the government of Bussorah and, after he was deposed on a charge of adultery, was again appointed by Omar to the government of Kufa?" 'And Mo'âwiya too', continued the Caliph, 'was the choice of Omar. He was not appointed by me to hold the chief command in Syria.' "Yes", answered Ali, "but Omar kept strict control over his officers; they obeyed his orders, and when they did wrong he punished them; whereas thou treatest them mildly and thou dost not punish them because they are thine relations. Wouldst thou not admit that Omar's slaves stood not in so much awe of Omar as did Mo'âwiya?" Othmân had to admit. Ali continued: 'but now he doeth whatever he pleaseth and putteth thy name to the bidding, and thou, knowing it all, leaveth him unquestioned." Having thus warned the Caliph, Ali took his departure. ‡

† Târikh-al-Khamis.

‡ Ibn Athir; Ibn Qoteiba.

In the words of Sir W. Muir "As Ali's message professed to come from the people, Othmán went straightway to the pulpit and addressed the multitudes there assembled for prayers in the Mosque. He reproached them for giving vent to their tongues and following evil leaders whose object it was to blacken his name, exaggerate his faults and hide his virtues. 'Ye blame me', he said, 'for things which ye bore cheerfully from Omar. He trampled on you, beat you with his whip and abused you. And yet ye took it all patiently from him, both in what ye liked and what ye disliked. I have been gentle with you, bended my back unto you, withheld my tongue from reviling and my hand from smiting. And now ye rise up against me.' Then after dwelling on the prosperity of his reign at home and abroad he ended thus, 'wherefore refrain, I beseech you, from your abuse of me and of my governors, lest ye kindle the flames of sedition and revolt throughout the Empire.' The appeal, we are told, was marred by his cousin Marwán who exclaimed, 'If ye will oppose the Caliph, we shall soon bring it to the issue of the sword.' 'Be silent', cried Othmán. So Marwán remained silent and Othmán descended from the pulpit. The harangue had no effect for good. The discontent spread, and the gatherings against the Caliph multiplied." *W. Muir's Annals, p. 322.*

Conference of Governors at Medina. 34 A.H. 655 A.D.

It was a custom that the governors of different provinces on their return from the annual pilgrimage at Mecca used to present themselves at the court of the Caliph in Medina. The season of the pilgrimage in the eleventh year of Othmán's caliphate having approached, Othmán issued an edict requiring the people, who had any cause of complaint against the governors, or any grievances against them, to come forward on that occasion in order that their appeals might be heard in the presence of their governors and the wrongs done to them might be redressed. After the pilgrimage the Governors attended the Caliph's court but the complainants dared not come forward to claim a

redress in the presence of the governor against whom they had complaints. The Caliph, however, discussed the situation with the Governors and asked their advice to find out ways and means to check the growing discontent. One (Sa'id) suggested that the ringleaders should be put to sword; another (Abdalláh) proposed that they should be silenced by liberal gifts; a third (Ibn Amir) advised to send them out on some expeditionary force, thus to divert their energies from their present activities. The conference was, at length, broken up without any definite settlement. Nothing was done to avert the impending crisis, and the Caliph gave them leave to depart saying only that they should use every means to control the situation.

Prediction of Ka'b-al-Ahbar.

† During his sojourn at Medina, Mo'áwiya met Ka'b-al-Áhbár, the Jewish convert, who was a famous fortune teller, and asked him to foretell the issue of the prevailing discontent. He said, 'His (Othman's) end is approaching. It will be the grey mule that wins* in the long run after much bloodshed,' meaning Mo'áwiya, who from that moment resolutely kept an eye on the Caliphate. ‡

Deputations seeking redress and Othman's ficklemindedness.

On return to their seats of government the governors exhibited more high handedness and cruelty. The opressed, on the other hand, meeting in the dark, decided to send in their deputations once more to warn the Caliph, and if they still failed in their efforts to bring Othmán to reason, they were her eafter to converge upon Medina in a combined and menacing force to demand abdication of the Caliph. The deputations reached Medina in Rabi I, 35 A. H. and presenting an endless roll of their grie-

† Rawdzat-al-Safá Habib-al-Siyar.

* The Prophet had a vision relating to the family of Omyya, whom he saw mount his pulpit, and jump about in it like monkeys; upon which he said : This is their portion in this world, which they have gained by their profession of Islam. *Sale from Al-Beidzawi.*

‡ Muir's Annals, p. 327, Rawdzat-al-Safá.

vances demanded redress of their wrongs or otherwise the abdicatian of the Caliph. They were, however, by the intercession of Ali, pacified by promises of redress and with liberal donations from the Treasury. When they were gone, Marwán, the evil genius of Othmán, reproached him with what he termed as an act of weakness, and advised the Caliph to announce from the pulpit that the deputations, being led by false motives, could not achieve much and they could do no better than to return to their homes disappointed. Othmán, following blindly the advice of his Secretary, next day delivered a sermon from the pulpit repudiating the claims of the deputations. Amr. b. As, who was present in the congregation, protested against the speech, saying that the deputations had not gone back of their own accord but they were made to return with all possible care to avert the crisis. There was a murmur against this undiplomatic speech of the Caliph, and Amr b. As asked Othmán to offer contrition for his behaviour. Othmán, being displeased, insolently exchanged hot words with Amr. But instantly from every corner of the Mosque rose voices demanding Othmán to offer contrition for his sin. The Caliph was alarmed at the disrespectful attitude of the assembly, (who on this occasion, instead of adressing him as Amir-al-Mominin, as was their wont, called him by his simple name Othmán,) and offered the contrition demanded of him; and descending the pulpit, crestfallen, retired to his house. Ali, on hearing all about this sermon remonstrated with Othmán at the futility of the action and advised him to wash away the prejudices conceived by the people against him by declaring his genuine sorrow for what had passed. Othmán did as he was advised, and to prove his sincerity he invited people, who wished to come to his palace, to have a free discourse with him. When some influential men went to see Othmán at his palace, Marwán again reproached Othmán saying that the son of Abu Tálib had cleverly misled the Caliph and by making him admit his faults he had attained his object to prove

that the Caliph was guilty of the various charges laid against him. The fickle-minded Caliph was easily persuaded to give him permission to turn out the visitors and Marwán addressed them in so harsh a strain that it soon roused them to tenfold fury. They all went straight-way to Ali and mentioned to him what had happened. Making sure of the facts, Ali was highly indignant and declared that he would not have anything to do with the affairs of Othmán. Náela, the wife of Othmán, who had heard the words of Marwán and beheld the keen resentment of the people, warned her husband of the storm he was bringing over his own head and prevailed upon him again to make friends with Ali, who alone, she said, could effectively mediate with his opponents.

Several minor deputations in the like manner waited upon Othmán, who promised redress but under the baneful influence of Marwán, he never kept his word. According to Major Price, "the imbecile old Caliph frequently advised with Ali, but the malignant influence of his Secretary Marwán perpetually interposed to prevent his taking advantage of the good counsel he received. Marwán, in fact, had gained an undue ascendancy over Othmán, and was the active and insinuating spirit of his government and the evil genius of Othmán. He may justly be looked upon as the principle cause of Othmán's ruin."†

Menacing deputations from Egypt, Kufa and Bussorah. 35 A. H.

The deputations referred to in the above paragraph returned to their homes, but the Egyptian deputies ‡ on reaching their destination were caught hold of by the Governor, who killed the leaders and imprisoned others. Excited at this, some six or seven hundred Egyptians including many men of note such as Abd-al-Rahmán b. Adis, Amr. b. Homaq, Kinána b. Boshar, Sodán b. Ahmar issued from Fostát headed by Gháfiqi b. Harb. Mohammed the son of Abubekr was also with them. Likewise, some two or three hundred men including many in-

† S. Ockley's His. Sar.
‡ Zákir Hosain's History of Islam vol. iii p. 149.

fluential men like Ziyád b. Sohán, Ziyád b. Nasr, Yazid b. Qais came out from Kufa headed by Málik-al-Ashtar. Bussorah also sent out a contingent headed by Harqus b. Zobeir, comprising as many men as from Kufa. Under the pretext of pilgrimage to Mecca they took their journey two months before the anuual pilgrimage and encamped within a league of Medina in separate camps like an army, in the month of Shawwál, 35 A.H. The Egyptians pitched their tents at Zi-Marwa, the men of Kufa at Al-A'was, and the Bussorah party at Zi-Khashab, all places in the close neighbourhood of the city. Hopeless of any amends or redress at the hands of Othmán, they had resolved to compel the Caliph, who was habituated to breach of promises, to abdicate and to elect another in his place. They sent a message to the Caliph, demanding the deposition of their respective governors or his own abdication from the Caliphate. Alarmed at the threatening attitude of the multitudes, Othmán sent Moghira b. Shoba and Amr b. As to persuade them to leave their complaints to be decided according to the Qurán and the Sunnat. But the mal-contents repelled both Moghira and Amr, abusing them with coarse and vulgar language. In consternation and with the advice of his wife, Náela, Othmán again applied to Ali, requesting him to go forth and pacify the rebellious mob. He consented on condition that Othmán would first make formal atonement for his errors from the pulpit. Harassed and dismayed, the Caliph mounted the pulpit and with a voice broken by sobs and tears admitted his faults and begged pardon of God, with exclamations of penitence and sorrow. The whole assemblage was moved and softened. Othmán's public repentance and the interpollation of Ali, who was reverenced on account of his personal traits and being the nearest in kin to the Prophet, produced the desired effect on the insurgents.

Appointment of Mohammed b.

The Egyptians, however, insisted that they would not be content with anything short of the deposition of Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh, the

Abubekr to replace Ibn Abi Sarh in Egypt.

Governor of Egypt, and the appoitment in his place of a man of their own choice. Othmán yielded, and they desired Ali to stand as surety for the fulfilment of Othmán's pledge. "They unanimously named Mohammed, the brother of Ayesha, who had, in fact, been used by that intriguing woman as firebrand to kindle this insurrection; her object being to get Talha appointed to the Caliphate." *W. Irving's Successors of Mohammed p. 163.*

A document was drawn up, signed and sealed by the Caliph, attested by Ali, Talha, Zobeir and Abdalláh b. Omar, and handed over to the Egyptians.

The detection of the perfidious letter.

†This action of the Caliph apparently satisfied the insurgents, who, now breaking their camps, retraced their steps homewards. Mohammed b. Abubekr, with the Egyptian band, took his way to Egypt to join his post. Three days had Mohammed and his train been on their journey, when they saw a black slave on a swift dromedary passing in haste at a little distance by them. They detained and brought him before Mohammed. On being questioned, he said that he was a slave of Othmán's, and was proceeding on an errand of importance to the Governor of Egypt. He was then told that he was already standing before the governor to whom he should deliver his errand. In reply he said that his mission was for Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh. He denied possession of any letter, but, on a thorough search of his person and baggage, a letter was discovered on tearing open the skin of his water-flask. It was opened on the spot before all who had assembled there and was found to contain orders from the Caliph to Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh directing him to make away with Mohammed b. Abubekr secretly along with several other leaders of the party, as soon as they should arrive in Egypt, to destroy the order of Mohammed's appointment, and to imprison, until further orders others, who had brought complaint to Medina.

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†Abul Fida.

It is easier to imagine than to describe what Mohammed b. Abubekr and the Egyptians with him felt. Their indignatian knew no bounds, and no ill language against the Caliph was deemed sufficient. They now resolved to avenge themselves upon the author of this perfidy. They at once turned their faces back towards Medina, and despatched swift messengers to overtake the Bussorah and Kufa delegates on their way home, to apprise them of the foul play meditated by the Caliph and to ask them to return immediately to Medina in order to help them in deposing Othmán. They themselves hastened back to Medina cursing the Caliph all the way for his dastardly attempt at their lives, and congratulating themselves on their fortunate escape from so imminent a danger.

Angry feelings against Othman.

The news of their return and of the intercepted letter excited the most angry feelings of the whole populace, who spared not to say the worst of the Caliph. With the exception of Othmán's immediate kinsmen, the whole body of the Mohájirs and the citizens of Medina were loud with reproaches with one voice and sympathised with the infuriated Egyptians. Even Ayesha, the Mother of the Faithful, was heard to say: "Slay the Na'thal, † May God kill him," and the Egyptians found a justification for their action in the fury against Othmán exhibited by the Mother of the Faithful. In short the Caliph was universally condemned and detested. Meanwhile the men of Bussorah and Kufa, having been alarmed at the evil tidings, turned back to Medina to assist the Egyptians, who were also joined by the dissatisfied faction in the city. Thus ten thousand mal-contents assembled against Othmán to force his abdication.

Denial of Othman about the perfidious letter.

Ali repaired to the Caliph and explained to him the circumstances under which the insurgents had re-appeared in Medina. Othmán denied all knowledge of the letter, and

† Na'thal was the name of a long bearded Jew in Egypt with whose resemblence Othmán was so called by his enemies, *Ibn Athir in Nihaya.*

assented to receive a deputation of the rebel leaders. The deputees produced the letter but Othmán swore solemnly that he knew nothing about it. They asked the Caliph who it was, then, that wrote it and the Caliph's answer was the same that he knew not. 'But it was carried', they pressed, 'by thy own slave, on thine own camel, at thine own order, with thine own seal, and yet thou sayest that thou wast not a privy to it.' Again Othmán affirmed that it was even so. 'It must then,' they said, 'be a forgery of Marwán's' and requested that he might be called on to explain. But Othmán would not call his Secretary, who was his cousin as well as son-in-law. Incensed at Othmán's denial and of his refusal to summon Marwán, who was at the time in the same house, they insisted that if the letter originated with Marwán, he should receive the merited punishment, and whether Othmán was speaking the truth or telling a lie, in either case he was a knave or a fool unworthy of the Sceptre he held, and therefore he should resign. In reply Othmán said that he would not put off the robes which the Lord had girded him with, and offered to make them every satisfaction that could reasonably be demanded of him, declaring his repentance for what had occurred. They answered that they could no longer put any trust in him, as he had often made promise to amend and as often broken it. The altercation became loud. Ali arose and departed to his house. Soon after, returned the men of the deputation to join their bands. Ali left Medina in disgust with the affairs of Othmán and went out.

Ayesha's part in the cold treatment of Othman.

†Ayesha zealously took her share in fomenting the discontent and instigated the insurgents to treat Othmán as an apostate. She accused him of having misappropriated the Public money to the benefit of his own relations and of having treated the Public treasury as his own. She cursed him to be deprived of Heaven's blessings

† Mir Akhond; A'tham Kufi.

for having left the people to the mercy of his ungodly relations, whom he had appointed over them as their sole masters. She said that, but for being a Mussalman, she would like to see him slain as a camel. On hearing this, Othmán (alluding to Ayesha and Hafsa's betrayal) recited, as an answer in kind, the verse 10 of *Sura LXVI*. "God gives out a similarity of the Disbelievers to the wife of Noah and to the wife of Lot, who betrayed their husbands, the two righteous devotees of the Lord, and nothing could avail them against God, who ordered them to enter the Fire (of Hell) along with other convicts". She stirred up the malcontents against Othmán, saying that the sheets wrapped over the Prophet's body had not yet changed their colour in his grave when his Doctrines of Faith have been discarded by Othmán and treated as dead letters.

As the Haj season was approaching and Ayesha intended to proceed on pilgrimage, she made up the contribution of her share towards the murder of the Caliph by stirring up the insurgents and continuously telling them "Kill this old magician, may God slay him". While she was taking her way to Mecca, Marwán told her that she was shaking herself free from the conspirators, having commanded them to do away with the Caliph. She retorted that she would like to have him suspended to her neck, inclosed in a sack, to be carried and drowned into the Red Sea. Simon Ockley in his History of the Saracens writes: "Ayesha, Mohammed's widow, was his (Othmán's) mortal enemy, certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the wife of an inspired prophet, to have spent the days of her widowhood in devotion and good works, than in doing mischief and embroiling the State. But she was so prejudiced in favour of Talha and the son of Zobeir, whom she would fain have raised to the dignity of Caliph, that no consideration of virtue or decency could hinder her from doing everything in her power to compass the death of Othmán."

Othmán's palace was surrounded by the insurgents, but for several weeks he used to come out and lead the usual prayers in the Mosque. They joined the worshippers, but one day they cast dust in the face of Othmán. On a subsequent Friday when the prayers were done, † Othmán, mounting the pulpit, first appealed to the better sense of the citizens and then turning to the insurgents addressed them thus, "The Prophet cursed the people who rose up against the Caliph of the Prophet and his vicegerent, and the people of Medina condemn the lawless attitude." He advised them to repent of their evil deeds and atone for them by doing good. On hearing this sermon a tumult arose and the people threw stones at the Caliph, one of which struck Othmán and he fell from the pulpit to the ground and swooned. He was not, however, seriously hurt and for some days still presided at the daily prayers. ‡ On another occasion the Caliph was addressing the congregation in the Mosque in the same strain, leaning upon the Prophet's staff (a sacred relic which had come down from the Prophet to his successors), when an Arab seized and broke it over Othmán's head.

Violent attitude against Othman.

The violent attitude of the mob forced Othmán to shut himself up in his palace, and a virtual blockade ensued. The entrance to the palace, however, where a guard of armed men was posted by Othmán, was still safe. As the holy month of the Haj pilgrimage was at hand, Othmán was advised by his friends to sally forth on pilgrimage to Mecca, in order that the piety of the undertaking, the sanctity of the pilgrim garb, and the sacredness of the truce months would be the sources of protection, but he rejected the advice; and coming over the roof of his palace called Abdalláh, the son of Abbás, who was one of the party guarding the gate, and bade him to lead the pilgrims' rites at Mecca. He undertook the duty and proceeded to Mecca.

The blockade of Othman's palace.

† Abul Fida. ‡ Ibn Khaldun; Tárikh-al-Khamis.

As soon as Othmán was convinced that the rebels were ready to go to the extremes as they had already shown their colours, he sent urgent messages demanding succour from Mo'áwiya in Syria, Abdalláh b. Amir in Bussorah and Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh in Egypt and sent a letter to Ibn Abbás to be read out to the pilgrims at Mecca to hasten to his relief.

Talha's collusion with the insurgents.

†Talha pressed the insurgents to the strict enforcement of the blockade so that the privations of the siege might be keenly felt by the besieged. This was overheard by Othmán, who happened to listen from inside of his palace to what was going on among the besiegers outside, and the Caliph was astonished to find out that Talha had actually colluded with the insurgents, and the Caliph cursed him for his ambitious aim. The insurgents vigorously enforced the blockade and every approach to the palace was closed, allowing neither ingress nor egress. The supply of water to the palace was cut off and the privation was keenly felt by the besieged. When Othmán saw himself reduced to this strait, he sent for Ali and appealed to him for relief. According to some historians, Ali upbraided the insurgents for cutting off the supply of water and sent his sons Hasan and Hosain with some skins full of water to the palace of Othmán. The insurgents, respecting the memory of the Prophet, who had fondled the children—now grown up youths—in his lap for years, let them go unchecked and thus the water reached to the great relief of Othmán and all those shut up with him.

Apprehending from the ferocity, with which the investment was now pressed, that the end was not far, Othmán, from the flat roof of his palace offered the usual salutations preparatory to open an address to the besiegers below, but none having returned the salute, he asked if Talha was among them. Receiving a reply in the affirmative from Talha himself, the Caliph reproached him

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† Ibn Qoteiba; Tabari.

for not receiving his salutation, to which Talha replied that he had answered but his voice might not have reached the Caliph's ears. Then the Caliph asked if Zobeir and Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás were also among them. Both of them shouted a reply. He then addressed them: In the words of Sir W. Muir: 'My fellow citizens. I have prayed to the Lord that when I am taken He may set the Caliphate aright.' After this he made a mention of his previous life, and how the Lord had made him successor of His prophet and Commander of the Faithful, 'And now,' said he, 'ye have risen up to slay the Lord's elect. Have a care ye men, (and here he addressed the besiegers) the taking of life is lawful but for three things, Apostasy, Murder, and Adultery. Taking my life without such cause, ye but suspend the sword over your own necks. Sedition and bloodshed shall not depart for ever from your midst.' They gave him audience thus far and then cried out that there was yet a fourth just cause for death *viz.* the quenching of truth by inequity and of right by violence, and that for his ungodliness and tyranny he must abdicate or be slain. For a moment Othmán was silent. Then calmly rising, he bade the citizens go back to their homes and himself, with but faint hopes of relief, turned to his dreary abode.

According to some traditions, we are told, that Othmán prevailed on Ali to procure for him a three days truce, under the pretence of issuing orders to the governors for reforms of the administration; and that he treacherously employed the time in strengthening the defences, and excused himself by saying that the time was too short to carry out the promised reforms. *Muir's Annals pp. 335 & 336.*

Murder of Othman.

The siege had lasted 40 days or so. After the first rising, Othmán used to preside at the daily prayers for over three weeks, after which he shut himself up in his palace on account of the violent attitude of the insurgents, and the investment became severe. The knowledge that the Caliph had sum-

moned succour from the provinces; combined with the incident narrated below, infuriated the insurgents to precepitate matters in order to finish their operations. Major Price writes thus: "During the siege, one of the Order of the Prophet's Companions came forward and requested that Othmán would appear upon the terrace as he had some thing to his advantage to communicate. The Caliph complied and the conference was opened, when one of the besieged suddenly drew his bow from the battlements of the palace, and killed the officious adviser on the spot. The besiegers with eager vociferation demanded that the murderer should be delivered up; but Othmán firmly and magnanimously refused, declaring that those should never suffer whose only crimes were loyalty and devotion. But the issue of the contest was considerably accelerated by the useless piece of treachery. The assailants set fire to the palace gates and forcibly rushed in through the doors by the terraced roofs. On the other hand Marwán and Sa'id b. As, at the head of 500 Mamelukes, prepared to give the rebels a gallant reception. The aged and venerable Caliph now endeavoured to dissuade his adherents from a fruitless opposition. In the meantime, the insurgents had forced their way into the interior of the palace, and a short and sanguinary contest ensued in the courts. Marwán, who stood conspicuous at the head of his people, received a stroke from a scimitar, which laid him senseless, whilst Sa'id was shortly afterwards compelled by a wound to quit this scene of blood and outrage. The contest, notwithstanding, raged with unabated fury until Mohammed the son of Abubekr made his way into the apartment where Othmán sat with his eyes intently fixed on the sacred pages of the Qurán. He seized his sovereign by the beard, but Othmán appealing to the memory of his father, he retired without doing him further injury. Kinána, the son of Bashar, then entered the room and was preparing to strike when several others rushed in with naked swords and drew the first blood of the defenceless monarch. Náela, the wife of Othmán,

threw herself upon her husband, and endeavoured to ward off the stroke of a scimitar, but in this effort of tenderness she lost the fingers of her hand, and the unhappy Caliph soon afterwards expired under repeated wounds. Three days elapsed before his murderers could permit his body to be buried. At length, through the intercession of Ali, permission was granted; and having placed his corpse upon one of the palace doors which they tore off as a subtitute for a bier, † they consigned his mutilated remains to a recess between the public burying place of Medina and that of the Jews, three of the Ansárs insisting that it should not be laid among true believers. At a subsequent period, however, Mo'áwaiya took the spot into the Mussalman enclosure.

Othmán was murdered at the age of eightytwo years on the 18th of Zhilhajja, 35 A. H. having reigned eleven years eleven months and fourteen days.

At the close of Othmán's reign, during the year 35 A.H.,

Salman Farsi.

Salmán Fársi, who was reckoned as a member of the Prophet's family, died at the age of 250 or (according to some) 350 years.

† Abul Fida.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ali b. Abi Talib.

Contemplations for the election of a Caliph in place of Othman.

After the murder of Othmán terror reigned in the city and the regicides had the entire mastery of it, there being no settled Government in Medina. The principal citizens, feeling the tumultuous state of the populace and apprehending civil war, clamoured for the instant election of a Caliph. The threatening attitude of those who had come from various parts of the empire *viz* Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia on the occasion, was a source of great alarm; because they were resolved not to disperse until they knew whom they were to look upon as their sovereign.

There were two candidates, Talha and Zobeir (both brothers-in-law of Ayesha) who aspired to claim the Caliphate with the powerful support of Ayesha, but, to their great disadvantage, she was not present in Medina at this juncture, having gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, as already observed. Talha, who had taken an active part in instigating the besiegers of Othmán's dwelling to precipitate things, and his associate Zobeir, though had their pretensions urged by some people of Bussorah and Kufa, but the majority of the general public of Medina, who enjoyed the exclusive right of electing a Caliph, looked upon a third as the man best fitted for the office. He was a man admired by his friends and foes alike for his courage, eloquence, magnanimity, piety, nobility, and his near kinship to the Prophet. This was Ali, the cousin-german of the Prophet and the father of the Prophet's posterity from his best beloved daughter Fátema. He was considered as the natural claimant to the Caliphate; and the people, now wishing to be governed by the Prophet's heir, desired to see Ali elevated to his legitimate dignity. Talha and

Zobeir, cautioned by the atmosphere, held their peace and thought it prudent to dissemble their feelings so far as to take the oath of allegiance to Ali when he was elected, with a steadfast resolve, however, of breaking it as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer.

Election of Ali.

In this dilemma several of the principal men of Medina repaired to Ali and desired him to accept the government. In reply he assured them that he had no wish for temporal power and would willingly yield obedience to any other person elected by them. They, however, insisted that there was none other so well qualified as he. But to all their remonstrances, Ali was resolute in his refusal and said that he would rather like to serve another as his adviser than take the government upon himself. The insurgents, anxious to put the city back to its nomal state, which they themselves had set to its present disturbed condition, were much annoyed at the difficulty in the choice of the Caliph, and insisted that before they quitted Medina, the citizens, in exercise of their right, must elect a Caliph within one day, as they were the proper persons to determine the controversy, or, if the choice was not made within the time allowed by them, they would put to sword the leading men of Medina. Upon this the people again came to Ali in the evening and explaining to him the situation, earnestly entreated him to reconsider their position and the menace to the religion. Overcome at length with their pathetical expostulations, Ali consented with reluctance saying: 'If you excuse me and elect another, whomsoever you may think fit to choose, I shall most submissively yield obedience to him. If not, and I must comply with your wish to accept the offer, I must say frankly at the outset that I shall conduct the administration quite independently, and I shall deal with all of you according to the Holy Book of the Lord and to the best of my knowledge and judgment.' They unhesitatingly assented and proferred to give him their hand in token of doing fealty to him; but he refused to do anything, unless it were in

public, in order that no one might have cause to grumble. "Ali was apprehensive of the intrigues of Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir and the whole house of Omyya (of which Moáwiya, Othman's lieutenant in Syria, was chief), who, he knew, would avail themselves of every opportunity to oppose and disturb his government. Ockley's His Sar. p. 289.

Inauguration of Ali as Caliph

Next morning (on the fourth day after Othmán's murder), the people assembled in large numbers in the great Mosque, where Ali made his appearance, clad in a simple cotton gown and a coarse turban wound round his head with a bow in his right hand and his slippers in the left, which he had taken off in reverence of the place. Talha and Zobier being not present, he caused them to be sent for. When they came, they offered him their hands in approbation of his election as Caliph. But Ali paused and said to them, that if they were sincere in their hearts they might do him fealty in good earnest; assuring them at the same time, that if either of them would accept the Caliphate, he was quite willing to do him fealty with perfect sincerity and would be glad rather to serve him as his adviser than to take the government upon himself. This, however, both of them declined, and expressing their perfect satisfaction, stretched forth their hands to pay homage to Ali. Talha's right arm was maimed, having received a wound in the battle of Ohod, he could therefore stretch it forth with difficulty. As he was the first to begin with the ceremony, the audience took it as an evil omen and a by-stander remarked: 'It is likely to be a lame business that is begun with a lame hand.' The presage proved only too true by subsequent events. The audience then swore allegiance to Ali and their example was followed by the general public. None of the Omyyads and the immediate adherents of Othmán came in, nor did Ali press any one to come in and do fealty to him. There were also some prominent men in Medina, who kept themselves aloof, not liking to pay homage to Ali. These were (according to Mas'udi) Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, Maslama b. Khálid. Moghira b. Sho'ba, Qidáma

b. Matz'un, Wahbán b. Saifi, Abdalláh, b. Salám, Hassán b. Thábit, Ka'b b. Málik, Abu Sa'ıd Khudri, Mohammed b. Maslama, and Abdalláh † b. Omar, Fıdzála b. Abeed, Ka'b b. Ajza; Habıb-al-Sıyar adds: Zaıd b. Thábıt, Osáma b. Zaid, Abu Musa Ash'ari, Zaıd b. Ráfe,' Salma b. Salâma, Sohaib b. Sınán, No'mán b. Bashır; Tabari adds: Ráfe' b. Khadij. These people were named Mo'tazilıtıes.

The insurgents, having themselves done homage to Ali, departed to their homes.

The cry for the revenge of Othman's murder.

After the inauguration, of Ali, Talha and Zobeir, with several others, came to Ali and asked him that the murder of Othmán ought by all means to be avenged, proferring their services to attain the end. Ali knew full well that the crime was perpetrated hardly against their own will and even before their eyes, that now their cry for vengeance was nothing but a design to foment disturbance by calling up a host of enemies. He, therefore, explained to them that the event had its foundations in old dissensions; that there were several parties different in opinion from one another; that it was not the moment to stir up a civil war; that the discontent was instigated by the devil, who, when once holds the ground, never quits it easily; and that the very measure they suggested to undertake was the devil's own proposal to foster unrest and tumult. However, he told them that he had already sent for Marwán, the Secretary of Othmán, and Náela the wife of Othmán, who were all the time in the same house with Othmán, to enquire as to the real culprits who perpetrated the murder. Marwán was not forthcoming, while Náela said that they were two persons but she could name or identify none. He added that several persons were said to be implicated in the crime but no evidence could be available against them. Under the circumstances, he swore that

† (Mas'udi stains the character of Abdalláh b. Omar by his keeping himself from paying homage to Caliph Ali and later on swearing allegiance to Yazid b. Mo'áwiya as Caliph, and again to Abd al Malik b. Marwán.

unless all parties united, if it so pleased God, it was difficult to take successful steps. He asked them what method they would propose as best suited to gain the end. They replied that they knew of none. Then he said: 'If you will point out the real assassins of Othmán, I shall not fail to vindicate the majesty of the Divine Law in putting them to their dues.' They were silent. Thus their insidious proposition being turned down they departed.

In the meantime, warned by the sudden departure of the Omyyad families, Ali began to secure the good will of the Qoreish and the Ansárs by showing his high appreciation of their worth, for he was desirous of having as many friends as possible against the apprehended trouble with the Omyyads.

Reforms contemplated by Ali.

The next matter for immediate attention of the new Caliph was the removal of the ungodly men, who governed various provinces with such tyranny that it drove the people to desperation, which cost Othmán his life. Many abuses had crept in during the reign of Othmán, which called for immediate action, and most of the governments of provinces were in the hands of persons of equivocal antecedents and suspected faith. Determined upon a thorough reform, he resolved to depose Mo'áwiya and the other governors, who had received their appointments from his predecessor. Abdalláh b. Abbás, who had returned by now from his pilgrimage at Mecca, strongly opposed this measure, especially that of Mo'áwiya's deposition, and advised him to postpone the execution of this reform for a short while, till at least, he should find himself more firmly established in authority. He argued: 'If thou deposest Mo'áwiya, the Syrians, whom he hast firmly attached to himself by his munificence, will rise up against thee in a body, will not recognise thee Caliph and worst of all, they will accuse thee of the murder of Othmán. It will be advisable, therefore, to let him continue in his place till he submits to thy authority, and when once he hast done that, it will be easy for thee to pull him out of his house

by the ears whensoever thou dost desire it.' 'Besides,' he reminded Ali, 'Talha and Zobeir are not the persons to be relied upon; I have good reasons to suspect them of taking up arms against thee very soon, and perhaps they may join Mo'áwiya.' 'But the Divine Law,' said Ali, 'dost not allow of crafty deceptions. I must strictly follow the true principles of religion and therefore should not willingly allow any ungodly man to retain his office. Mo'áwiya will have nothing but the sword from me. I cannot retain him for a single day.' 'See,' continued he, 'I appoint thee, O Ibn Abbás! Thou shalt go forth thyself to Syria to turn him out.' 'That', cried Ibn Abbás, 'is quite impracticable, Mo'áwiya would not leave me alive because of my being akin to thee.'

When these arrangements were in progress, Talha and Zobeir came to Ali and applied for their appointment to the governments of Kufa and Bussorah respectively. But Ali politely refused, observing that in his present emergencies he needed such able counsellors at hand.

Having chosen his men for the government of the various provinces, Ali sent them out to their destinations in the month of Moharram 36 A.H. to replace the existing governors. Thus he sent (1) Obeidalláh b. Abbás to Yemen; (2) Qais b. Sa'd b. Obáda to Egypt; (3) Qutham b. Abbás to Mecca; (4) Samáha b. Abbás to Tihâma; (5) Awn b. Abbás to Yamáma; (6) Othmán b. Honeif to Bussorah, (7) Ammára b. Shaháb to Kufa; (8) Sa'id b. Abbás to Bahrein; and (9) Sahel b. Honeif to Syria.

Obeidalláh reached Yemen and found that Ya'la, his predecessor, had carried off to Mecca all the treasure † amounting to sixty thousand Dinárs, which he made over to Ayesha along with six hundred camels, one of which was a rarity, a big-sized, well bred animal, valued at 200 gold pieces. It was named Al-Askar and was

† Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb; Ibn Athir, Ibn Khaldun.

specially presented for the use of Ayesha. Obeidalláh, however, took possession of the govrnment of Yemen.

Qais b. Sa'd, when approaching Egypt, was opposed by a party of Othmán's in passing a frontier garrison; but by feigning attachment to the cause of Othmán, he succeeded to reach the seat of his government, which he occupied. His predecessor, Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh, being certain of his removal, had already made his way to Syria to take refuge with Mo'áwiya, as most of the Omyyads had done on the accession of Ali.

Othmán b. Honeif, who went to Bussorah, entered unopposed; but Ibn Amir, his predecessor, had also already made away with all the treasure and joined Talha and Zobeir. Othmán occupied his post but found that disaffection was rife against Ali among a considerable number of the people.

Ammára on his way to Kufa was met by Tulaiha and Qa'qá', at the stage named Zabála, and they advised him to go back to Medina as the Kufians, they said, were resolved not to part with Abu Musa Ash'ari, who was set over them by their own choice by the late Caliph. They warned him that if he attempted to enter Kufa, he would have to face strong hostilities. Ammára retraced his steps to Medina and reported the state of affairs to the Caliph.

When Sahel, the governor elect for Syria, reached Tabuk, he met a party of horsemen, who told him that the people of Syria were clamouring for the vengeance of Othmán's blood and would not receive a man of Ali's appointment whom they did not recognise as a Caliph. Being unprepared to force his advance, Sahel returned to Medina and reported the facts to Ali.

Scheme of the Omyyads to stir up the people against Ali's government.

In the meantime the Omyyads, sparing nothing which could possibly serve to disturb Ali and his government, carried, at the instance of † Omm Habiba, a widow of the Propht and the sister of Mo'áwiya, the blood-covered shirt in which Othmán was

† Mas'udi, Habib al Siyar.

murdered, together with the mangled fingers of Náela, his wife, to Mo'áwiya in Syria, where he used them as instruments to stir up the spirit of vengeance among his people. Amr b. As, the witty counsellor of Mo'áwiya, said to him: 'Show the dam her foal, it will stir her bowels'; and he accordingly suspended the shirt with the mangled fingers attached thereto on the pulpit of the Mosque at Damascus. At times these emblems were carried about in the army. These objects, daily exposed to view, exasperated the Syrians, who wept till their beards were wet with tears, and swore vengeance upon the murderers of Othmán.

Mo'awiya's defiance of Ali's authority.

When Sahel returned, Ali asked Talha and Zobier to mark the extent to which the parties were divided and which he had cautioned them against. They replied that, if they were allowed to go out of Medina, they would be answerable if the disturbance did not cease. Upon this Ali said that sedition was like fire, the more it burnt the stronger it grew and the brighter it shone; he would, however, bear it so long as it was possible, and when it became unbearable he would try to extinguish it. He resolved in the first instance, to write a letter to Mo'áwiya and also to Abu Musa demanding their allegiance. Abu Musa replied that he himself and the Kufians, with some exceptions, were entirely at his service; but from Mo'áwiya no reply was forthcoming though weeks elapsed. In fact Mo'áwiya had detained the messenger to witness the spirit of his armies clamouring impatiently to revenge the blood of Othmán, but, being faithfully submissive to him, only waited a word of command from him to march against all concerned. After several weeks Mo'áwiya permitted the messenger to go back to Medina, accompanied by a messenger of his own, who carried a despatch which was superscribed on the cover with the words 'from Mo'áwiya to Ali.' According to the instructions given him by Mo'áwiya, when his messenger reached Medina, he carried the despatch aloft upon a staff on purpose to be seen by the people in the streets. Being well aware of

Mo'áwiya's disaffection to Ali, the people thronged anxious to know what the contents of the message might be. It was just three months after the murder of Othmán that the despatch was presented to Ali, who read the address and breaking open the seal found all blank within, which he rightly took as a token of utmost defiance. Astonished at the contemptuous effrontery of Mo'áwiya, he asked the messenger to explain the enigma. † Upon this the messenger having begged and received assurance for the safety of his life answered: "Know then, I have left behind me in Syria sixty thousand warriors bewailing the murder of Othmán under his blood-stained shirt by the pulpit of the great Mosque at Damascus, all bent on revenging the death of the Caliph on thee."

"On me!" cried Ali in astonishment. "I call God to witness that I am not guilty of it. O God! I seek Thy protection against so false a charge." Ali then declared that only the sword could be the arbitrator betwixt Mo'áwiya and himself; and turning to Ziyád b. Hantala who sat by him, said that an expedition against Syria might be proclaimed, which Ziyád soon communicated to the people.

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† The messenger's reply to Ali is given by Major Price thus: "Fifty thousand men are assembled about the robes of Othmán, whose cheeks and beards have never been dry from tears, and whose eyes have never ceased from weeping blood, since the hour of that prince's atrocious murder. They have drawn their swords with a solemn pledge never to return them to the scabbard, nor cease from mourning, until they have extirpated all concerned in that detested transaction. This sentiment they have left as a solemn bequest to their descendants; and the earliest principle that mothers instil into the minds of their infant offsping is, to revenge the blood of Othmán to the last extremity.' This insolent speech excited the anger of the attendants of the Caliph to such a degree, that, had not Ali interposed, serious consequences might have ensued. Strange to say, this magnanimity on the part of Ali operated like magic on the messenger of Mo'áwiya, who then declared himself convinced of his error, and solemnly swore that for the future he would never voluntarily separate from the person of Ali, or acknowledge the authority of any other sovereign to his prejudice." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 295.*

Departure of Talha & Zobeir.

Talha and Zobeir, whose desire to quit Medina was twice thwarted, now, seeing how the affairs were drifting, were anxious to acquire freedom of action, which they could not effect so long as they remained in Medina. Once more, therefore, they came to Ali and asked of him leave to proceed to Mecca on pretext of performing the Lesser Pilgrimage. Ali, who understood their motive, reminded them of their declaration of free will in swearing him allegiance on the day of his inauguration and gave them leave to depart, saying that he expected strange things from them and therefore he had insisted upon them their sincerity in taking the oath.

Ali began preparations for the expedition to Syria, calling for assistance from all the provinces and endeavouring recruitment from Medina; but before clashing arms with Mo'áwiya, he had to face another serious rebellion, which is described in detail below:

Ayesha's plans for rebellion.

Ayesha, on her way back from the pilgrimage at Mecca, met Ibn Omm Kaláb at Sarif. He informed her of Othmán's murder and Ali's accession to the Caliphate. Hearing this news she cried, 'Carry me back to Mecca' and, repeating it, she said, 'By God! Othmán was innocent, I will avenge his blood.' She went instantly back to Mecca along with her confederate Hafsa † and began to propagate sedition there. Sir. W. Muir in his Annals of the early Caliphate on pages 351 and 352 gives the following account of Ayesha relating to this incident: "In the early period of Othmán's troubles, Ayesha is said to have contributed her share towards fomenting public discontent. We are told that she even abetted the conspirators, among whom her brother Mohammed son of Abubekr was a chief leader. When on receiving the tidings of the murder, on her way back from Mecca, she declared that she would avenge Othmán's death. 'What!' cried her informant, startled by her zeal, 'is this thy speech now, whilst but yesterday

† Tabari.

thou wast foremost to press the attack upon him as an apostate?' 'Yea', she replied, 'but even now he repented him of that which they laid to his charge, and yet after that they slew him.' In reply her informant recited the verses purporting to say: 'Thou wast the first to foment the discontent. Thou commendedst us to slay the prince for his apostasy, and now etc.' Anyhow it must be admitted that Ayesha was a jealous, violent, intriguing woman, a character that may well account for much that would otherwise appear strange." In fact Ayesha expected either of the two, Talha nnd Zobeir, to succeed Othmán, but now, contrary to her expectations, hearing of the election of Ali, whom she detested, she was extremely disturbed in mind and thought of adopting open hostilities. Declaring herself avenger of Othmán's blood, she induced the great and powerful clan of Omyya, to which Othmán belonged, to join her cause. Those Omyyads, who still resided at Mecca and those who had fled from Medina on the accession of Ali, readily gathered under her flag. The deposed governors of several provinces also came in, one after the other, and, persuading easily a large number of malcontents, made common cause with her. Ya'la, the ex-governor of Yemen, furnished her with ample means to carry on war by presenting her the treasure, which he had carried off from Yemen.

Talha and Zobeir join Ayesha in her rebellion.

It was nearly four months after the murder of Othmán when Talha and Zobeir reached Mecca and found things well in progress. They were near relatives of Ayesha; her youngest sister was a wife of Talha, who was also a cousin of her father Abubekr, and her eldest sister was a wife of Zobeir, whose son Abdalláh was adopted by Ayesha. Notwithstanding their oath of allegiance to Ali, which they now said they swore under compulsion and were not therefore bound to abide by it, they longed to take up her cause, which, in case of success, was sure to prove to their own benefit. Accordingly, they joined Ayesha and began to take measures against Ali, promulgating among the

faction at Mecca that Ali's affairs were quite in an unsettled condition. "Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir who had always been enemies to Othmán, and were, in fact, the contrivers of his death and destruction, when they saw Ali elected, whom they hated equally, if not more, made use of Othmán's real and sincere friends as instruments of their malice against the new Caliph. So that from very different motives they all unanimously joined in demanding satisfaction for the murder of Othmán." *Simon Ockley's His. Sar. p. 294*. The standard of rebellion was raised and the tale of these distinguished persons was eagerly listened to by the factious and the revengeful Arabs at large, whose fathers and brothers were killed by Ali in defending the Prophet's cause on the occasion of various wars in his time. Many a discontented Arab flocked under the Standard. The treasure, which Ibn Amir the deposed governor of Bussorah had brought away with him, was now utilized by Talha and Zobeir in equipping the force.

War Council.

The preparations for war having been completed, the leaders of the rebellion held a council to discuss the place where the operations could be carried on with success. Ayesha proposed to march upon Medina to attack Ali in his capital and to strike at the very root; but it was protested by representations that the people of Medina were unanimously in favour of Ali, and too powerful to be assailed with success. Some suggested to proceed to Syria and to make a joint attack with the insurgents there; but Walid b. Oqba strongly opposed this suggestion, saying that Mo'áwiya would not approve of the presence of his superiors in his capital, much less the control of his armies by them in such critical times; rather he would take it ill as an interference in his designs to gain independence, which, as a matter of fact, kept him from sending succour demanded of him as a feudatory chief by Othmán, whose days of life he already expected as numbered. The objection being weighty, the suggestion

was dropped. At last, Talha having assured them that he had a strong party in his favour at Bussorah and that he was confident of its surrender, it was finally resolved to march toward that city. A proclamation was accordingly made by beat of drum through the streets of Mecca that Ayesha, the Mother of the Faithful, accompanied by the distinguished chiefs, Talha and Zobeir, was going in person to Bussorah; that all those who were desirous of revenging the atrocious murder of the prince of the faithful *viz.* Othmán, and of doing service to the cause of the Faith, should join her, even if they had no equipments, which would be furnished to them as soon as they came in.

Ayesha's instigations to Omm Selma.

Ayesha desired Omm Selma, another of the Mothers of the Faithful, who had been at Mecca on pilgrimage, to accompany her in the adventure, but she indignantly refused the invitation, and reasoned with Ayesha if she was justified to venture against the dictates of the Prophet in opposing Ali, who, she pointed out, was also Caliph duly elected unanimously by the people of Medina and acknowledged by the people of several provinces. Reciting the Prophet's saying: "Ali is my vicegerent in my life as also on my death, whosoever disobeys him disobeys me," she asked Ayesha if she had heard the Prophet say so. She assented. Then Omm Selma reminded her of the Prophet's prediction, as follows, to which he had given utterance reproachfully to his wives: 'A short while after, the dogs of Hawáb shalt bark at one of my wives who wilt be amongst a rebellious mob. Oh! that I knew who she was! Beware O Homeira! lest thou shouldst be the one.' Ayesha, on these demonstrations of truth, was alarmed. Omm Selma continuing her warnings said: 'Do not let thyself be beguiled by Talha and Zobeir. They shalt entangle thee into wrong but would not be able to extricate thee from the wrath or disgrace that may befall thee.' Ayesha returned to her lodging half inclined to desist from her scheme, but the entreaties of her adopted son, Abdalláh b. Zobeir, persuaded her vindictive nature to

avenge herself upon the man who had once associated himself with the Prophet in suspecting her when a false charge was laid against her. "Ayesha, spurning the restraints of her sex, prepared to join the campaign and to stir up the people of Bussorah, as she had stirred up those of Mecca. Hafsa, daughter of Omar, another of the Mothers of the Faithful, was with difficulty restrained by her brother (who had just fled from Medina and held aloof from either side) from accompaying her sister-widow." *Muir's Annals, p. 353.*

Ayesha's march on Bussorah.

At length Ayesha, mounted in a litter on the camel al-Askar, marched forth from Mecca at the head of one thousand volunteers, 600 of them being mounted on camels and 400 on horses. She was attended on her right and left by Talha and Zobeir. On her way, many a people joined her, soon swelling the number of the rebel army to three thousand.

Moghira b. Sho'ba, the ex-governor of Bussorah and of Kufa, who held these goverments in the time of Caliph Omar, and Sa'id, one of the veteran elders of Mecca and a Mohájir of the first emigration, who also accompanied the cavalcade, suspecting the motives of Talha and Zobeir, enquired of them as to who would be the Caliph in the event of victory. 'Either of us two, as chosen by the people', was the ready response. 'And why not a son of Othmán?' asked Sa'id. To this the reply was, 'Because the elders, being distinguished chiefs and Mohájirs, should not be overlooked.' 'But I think', rejoined Sa'id, 'if you are going forth to revenge the murder of Othmán, his successor should, of a right, be his own son, two of whom Abán and Walid are already in your Camp. Your succession would mean that, under the pretended cover of Othmán's blood, you sought to fight for your own good.' 'It will, however', they answered, 'depend upon the men of Medina to choose whomsoever they like.' Moghira and Sa'id, distrusting the leaders of the rebellion, resolved to retire, and accordingly they retraced their steps to Mecca along with their followers, who formed part of a body of the rebel army. Turning to the troops, as they were

passing by them shouting: 'Slay the murderers of Othmán, destroy them, one and all', Moghira cried out to Marwán and others: 'whither are ye going to hunt the murderers? They are before your eyes on the humps of their camels (pointing out towards Talha, Zobeir and Ayesha), slay them and go back to your homes. They are the proper objects of your vengeance, they had as much hand in the detested affair as anybody else.' The army, however, continued their march shouting wildly as they did. It was urged that the question of succession was premature, and Ayesha declared that the choice of a successor was the exclusive right of the men of Medina and must rest with them as heretofore; and, to avoid further misgivings, she directed that Abdalláh, the son of Zobeir, should lead the daily prayers.

Ayesha at the valley of Hawab.

On their way to Bussorah, the rebel army received intelligence that Ali, the Caliph, had come out of Medina in their pursuit. In order to reach Bussorah uninterrupted and unchecked, Ayesha ordered to change the route. Leaving aside the highway, her armies took their march by an unfrequented pathway to Bussorah. The guide, to dispel the irksomeness of the long autumn nights, whiled away his time usually singing and occasionally shouting the name of each valley, desert or village they were passing by. Reaching one night a place, he cried: "The valley of Hawáb." Struck at this name, a thrill ran through Ayesha's whole frame as instantly the dogs of the village surrounding her camel began to bark at her most clamorously. 'What place is this?' she screamed aloud, and the guide repeated in his usual tone, 'The valley of Hawáb.' The Prophet's prediction recently brought to her memory by Omm Selma, as already observed, was now uppermost in her mind, and she shiveringly exclaimed, 'Inná lilláh-wa inná ilaih-i-rájiun' *i. e.* We are resigned to God and to Him we must return. Making her camel kneel, she alighted from her litter and moaned with a deep sigh: "Alas! Alas! I am indeed the wretched woman of

Hawáb. The Prophet had already warned me against this." She declared that she would not move a step farther on that ill-omened expedition. Talha and Zobeir entreated her in vain to proceed with her journey, telling her that the guide had mistaken the name and that the place was never called Hawáb. They even suborned fifty witnesses to swear to it; but she would not believe them and refused to step further onward. This is said to be the first public false evidence produced ever since the introduction of Islam. Thus the night and the whole of the following day they halted at Hawáb. Talha and Zobeir were quite perplexed and did not know what to do. At last, hitting upon a clever stratagem, the next night they made the army raise a cry: 'Quick! Quick! Ali is fast approaching to overtake us.' So saying, they began scampering off. Ayesha, struck with terror, instantly took to her heels, found her camel and nimbly got into her litter. The march was thus resumed.

Ayesha's encampment at Khoreiba.

The army pushed forward in haste towards Bussorah and reaching near the town encamped at Khoreiba. Ayesha sent for Ahnaf b. Qais, a leading citizen of Bussorah, and asked him to join her Standard. After some discussion on the subject, he refused to take up arms against the Caliph. Resolving, however, to remain neutral, he left Bussorah with six thousand of his followers and encamped in the suburbs of Bussorah at Wádi-al-Sabá. Ayesha sent a message to Othmán b. Honeif, the Governor of Bussorah, inviting him to come to her. Immediately Ibn Honeif, putting on his armour and followed by a large number of the citizens, went forth to meet Ayesha. But to his surprise, he found the army of the insurgents arrayed on the parade-ground followed by a large number of the factious element of the citizens, who had in the meantime joined Ayesha to stand by her side. A parley ensued: "Talha and Zobeir alternately addressed the multitude, and were followed by Ayesha, who harangued them from her camel. Her voice, which she elevated

that it might be heared by all; became shrill and sharp, instead of intelligible, and provoked the merriment of some of the crowd. A dispute arose as to the justice of her appeal; mutual revilings took place between the parties; they gave each other the lie, and threw dust in each other's faces. One of the men of Bussorah then turned and reproached Ayesha: "Shame on thee, O Mother of the Faithful!" said he, "murder of the Caliph was a grievous crime, but was a less abomination than thy forgetfulness of the modesty of thy sex. Wherefore dost thou abandon thy quiet home and thy protecting veil and ride forth like a man barefaced on that accursed camel, to foment quarrels and dissensions among the Faithful?" Another of the crowd scoffed at Talha and Zobeir: "You have brought your mother with you," cried he, "why did you not also bring your wives?" Insults were soon followed by blows, swords were drawn, a skirmish ensued, and they fought until the hour of prayer separated them." *W. Irving's Succ. of Mohd. p. 172.*

The gates of the city were now closely barred against the entry of the insurgents. Some days passed in skirmishes with serious loss to the Governor's party and the rebels had the advantage of gaining some footing in the town. At length a truce was agreed upon with terms that a messenger should be sent to Medina to enquire whether Talha and Zobeir paid homage to Ali on the day of his inauguration voluntarily or under compulsion. In the former case they would be treated as rebels and in the latter their partisans in Bussorah will be justified in upholding their cause. The insurgents, who were desirous to get a chance to overpower the Governor and to take possession of the city, acquiesced in this arrangement to gain time for the longed for opportunity. A messenger was sent to Medina. When he delivered his errand, the people were all silent. At last Osáma stood up and said that they were compelled. But this assertion of Osáma would have cost him his life, had not a friend of his *viz.* Sohaib, a man of influence and authority, taken him under

his protection and led him home.

Seizure of Bussorah by Ayesha.

In the meantime the insurgent leaders endeavoured to draw Ibn Honeif, the Governor of Bussorah, to their Camp by friendly messages, but he suspected treachery, confined himself to his own house and substituted Ammár in office. Talha and Zobeir, taking a chosen band one stormy dark night, mixed with the congregation in the mosque in the guise of worshippers, surprised the Governor after killing forty of his guard and took him prisoner. On the following day Hakim b. Jabala tried to release the prisoner, but in his efforts lost his life together with seventy of his followers. A serious conflict raged throughout the city, resulting in the total discomfiture and heavy loss of Ali's party. Ayesha entered the city in state and the government of Bussorah, together with the Treasury, passed into the hands of the insurgents.

Soon after the capture of Othmán b. Honeif, Ayesha was asked in what way it was her pleasure to dispose of him. She passed sentence of death on him, but on the entreaties of a woman of her retinue she was moved to spare his life. He was doomed, however, to suffer still greater evils before he could escape from the hands of his captors. His beard, moustaches and eyebrows were plucked out hair by hair and he was then contemptuously turned out.

Tidings to Ali of Ayesha's revolt.

The reader might naturally be anxious to know what Ali, the Caliph, was doing so long. I will therefore leave the insurgents in possession of Bussorah and will follow Ali: Rumours of the disturbance at Mecca reached Medina, but Ali said that unless an overt action of the malcontents threatened the unity of Islam, he would not take drastic measures against them. After some time, Omm Selma, † who had spurned the proposals of Ayesha at Mecca, as already observed, repaired to Medina soon after the departure of the rebels to Bussorah and informed Ali of the revolt of Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir. Again, an urgent

† Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

message was received from Omm-al-Fadzl the widow of Abbás at Mecca with news of the rebels' designs against the Caliph and of their march upon Bussorah.

On receipt of the intelligence, Ali assembled the people in the great Mosque and called them to arms and to follow him against the rebels. The Caliph's eloquent address and warm appeal was received with coldness and apathy‡ which pervaded the assembly. No one appeared ready to respond to the call; as some of them had in their consideration the fact that the person against whom they were urged to take up arms was none other than the Mother of the Faithful *i. e.* Ayesha; others dreaded a civil war; some doubted if Ali might not in some degree have been implicated in the death of Othmán, which had been so artfully charged against him. For three consecutive days Ali tried his best to move the audience to bestir themselves. At last on the third day Ziyád b. Hantzela rose and stepped up to Ali with these words: 'Let whomsoever will, hold back, I shall go forward.' Following his example two Ansárs, Abul-Hathim and Khazima b. Thábit, came forth saying: 'The Prince of the Faithful is innocent of the murder of Othmán, we must join him.' Instantly Abu Qatáda, another Ansár, a man of distinction, stood up and drawing his sword exclaimed: *"The Apostle of God, upon whom be peace, girded me with this sword. I have kept it sheathed a long while; but now it is high time to draw it against these wicked men who are always deceiving the people." Simon Ockley's His. Sar. p. 300.* Even Omm Selma ¶ in the enthusiasm of her zeal for Ali said to him: 'O Commander of the Faithful! If it were permitted by Law, I myself would have accompanied thee in thy expedition, but I know thou wouldst not allow it; so I offer the services of my son Omar b. Abi Selma who is dearer to me than my own life. Let him go with thee and partake of thy fortunes.' Ali accepted the offer and Omar b. Abi Selma accompanied him in the expedition. He was a man of valour, possessed of piety and many good qualities, and

‡ Ibn Athir. ¶ Tabari; Ibn Khaldun;

was subsequently appointed governor of Bahrein.

Ali's march against Ayesha.

In short, a levy of nine hundred men could be raised with difficulty. The cold attitude of the people of Medina at this critical juncture made Ali so dejected that he resolved not to come back among them but to change his seat of government elsewhere. However, at the head of this small force of nine †hundred men he marched out of Medina wishing to overtake the rebels on their way to Bussorah. Arriving at Rabazha (on the outskirts of Nejd), he found out that the insurgents had already passed and were beyond reach on their road. Though joined on his march by the Bani Tay and some other loyal tribes, still not being sufficiently equipped for further advance, he ordered a halt at Zhi Qár waiting for reinforcements from Kufa, where he had sent Mohammed b. Abubekr and Abdalláh b. Ja'far to Abu-Musa-al-Ash'ari, the governor, requesting him to urge the people to come over to their Caliph in order to repair with him to the rebels and to try for the re-union of a divided people.

Abu Musa-al-Ash'ari's conduct towards the Caliph.

Abu-Musa cherished no good will towards the Caliph, for his having sent Ammára b. Shaháb to supplant him, as has been noticed; and he was a man of lukewarm spirit. Ayesha had already sent him letters to dissuade his people from their allegiance to Ali and to persuade them to rise up to avenge the murder of Othmán. Apprehensive of the success of Ayesha at Bussorah, he had already begun to waver in his allegiance to Ali and to advocate her cause to the people. When the Caliph's messengers arrived at Kufa and gave out his command, there was perfect silence among the audience in the mosque. At length the people asked Abu-Musa how he advised them in the matter of going out as desired by the Caliph. He gravely replied that the going out and the sitting quietly at home were two different things. The former was the way of the world while the latter was the

† Rawdzat-al-Safá.

heavenly way. They should take their choice. Enraged at hearing him speak thus, the Caliph's envoys reproached him, to which he answered with an oath that the homage done to Othmán hung still round his neck and round the neck of his master (meaning Ali) as well as his people; so † they were resolved to see the murderers of Othmán cleared out withersoever they were; and so long as any of the murderers remained they would not go out to join an expedition. He desired Mohammed b. Abubekr and Abdalláh b. Ja'far to go back as fast as they could to Ali and tell him so.

‡ In the meantime Othmán b. Honeif, the ex-governor of Bussorah, presented himself at Zhi-Qár—his appearance was strange indeed. The Caliph recognised him and observed with a smile that he had left him an old man but he returned to him a beardless youth. In fact Othmán had a remarkably beautiful beard, the loss of which, together with the hair plucked out of his moustaches and eyebrows, gave him an uncanny appearance, which made all smile. He recounted the misfortunes he had experienced at the hands of the insurgent leaders, and the Caliph sympathised with him for his sufferings and comforted him by assuring him that his sufferings would be counted as merits. He then said that the men who were the first to accept him as a Caliph were the first to break their oath of fealty and the first to rise up in rebellion against him. He wondered at their voluntary submission to Abubekr, Omar and Othmán and their opposition to him.

As soon as Mohammed b. Abubekr and Abdalláh b. Ja'far came back and reported what Abu-Musa had said, the Caliph despatched || Ibn Abbás and Málik-al-Ashtar to Kufa to use their influence over the Kufians. Arrived at Kufa, they delivered the message and invoked the assistance of the Kufians. Abu-Musa, however, addressed them thus: "Brethren! The Companions of the Prophet know better of God and his Prophet than those who are

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† Tabari. ‡ Abul Fida. || Ibn Athir.

not Companions. The disturbance is amongst the Companions; they know best who is to be trusted. You should not meddle with their affairs. For such an occasion the Prophet had said: 'There would be a disturbance in which he that sleepeth is better than he that is awake; and he that is awake is better than he that sitteth; and he that sitteth is better than he that standeth; and he that standeth is better than he that walketh; and he that walketh is better than he that rideth.' Wherefore sheath your swords, cut your bow strings and put off your lances. Sit quietly in your houses and receive the injured to your hospitality till the disturbance is ceased. Let the Companions of the Prophet be all agreed. You need not make war against any. Let those who have come to you from Medina return back."

Abu Musa's deposition from the government of Kufa.

Ibn Abbás and Málik-al-Ashtar went back and reported this to the Caliph, who then sent his son Hasan accompanied by Ammár Yásir, who had been for some time governor of Kufa during the reign of Caliph Omar and who for his outspoken remarks had been severely maltreated by Caliph Othmán. Málik-al-Ashtar (a man possessed of initiative and determination, exercising great influence over the Kufians), who was irritated by the prevarications of Abu-Musa in his previous mission, followed Hasan along with Qartza b. Ka'b Ansár, who was nominated by the Caliph to replace Abu-Musa in office. Abu-Musa received Al-Hasan quite respectfully, but when in the Mosque the assistance required by the Caliph was sought for, he opposed the proposal as vigorously as before, repeating the saying of the Prophet as mentioned in the foregoing paragraph *viz.* 'There should be a disturbance in which he that sleepeth is better than he that walketh etc.' Ammár Yásir, the venerable old favourite of the Prophet aged about 90, a stern soldier and veteran, now General of the Horse in Ali's forces, hearing the cunning speech of Abu-Musa, tartly replied to him that he had mis-applied the words of the Prophet which were

meant to rebuke such men as Abu-Musa himself, who were far better sleeping than awake, better sitting than standing etc. Still Abu-Musa persisted in hindering the people from complying with the envoys' proposals. A tumult ensued when Zaid † b. Sohán stood up and read out a letter from Ayesha commanding him either to remain at home neutral or to join her. Having read this letter he produced another, meant for the Kufian general public to the same effect. Having read both these letters he remarked: 'She is required by the Qurán and by the Prophet to sit quietly at home in her house, and we to fight till there should be no sedition. She commands us to play her part while she has taken ours upon herself.' Some people among the audience reproached Zaid for this remark against the Mother of the Faithful. Abu-Musa again began his address in opposition to the Caliph, upon which some of the audience chided him for his unfaithfulness and disloyalty and forced him to leave the pulpit which was then occupied by Al-Hasan b. Ali.

‡ Abu-Musa had to leave not only the pulpit but also the mosque at once, as some of the men of the garrison stationed at the Governor's castle came crying to him, bearing evidence of having been severely beaten with batons or sticks. It may be explained that, while the debate was conducted in the mosque, Málik-al-Ashtar taking a party of his men seized the castle of the Governor by surprise, caused the garrison to be soundly beaten and sent them to the mosque, to cut short the debate. This prompt measure of Al-Ashtar produced the desired effect; and, moreover, it placed the cold-spirited conduct of Abu-Musa in such a ridiculous light that the feelings of the populace were instantly turned against him. He proceeded to the castle in haste only to receive orders from Málik to vacate it at once. The mob at the gate were ready to plunder his goods, but Málik interposed and granted Abu Musa twenty four hours time to take out his goods.

† Tabari. ‡ Ibn Athir ; Ibn Khaldun.

From the pulpit Al-Hasan very fluently addressed the congregation. "He maintained the innocence of his father in regard to the assassination of Othmán. His father, he said, had either done wrong, or had suffered wrong. If he had done wrong, God would punish him. If he had suffered wrong, God would help him. The case was in the hands of the Most High. Talha and Zobeir who were the first to inaugurate him, were the first to turn against him. What had he done, as Caliph, to merit such opposition? What injustice had he committed? What covetous or selfish propensity had he manifested?" *W. Irwing's Succ. of Mohd. p. 177.* Wherefore come on and command that which is good and forbid that which is evil. The eloquence of Al-Hasan was powerfully effective; the heads of the tribes were telling each other that they had given their hands in allegiance to Ali. He had done them the honour by wishing to make them arbitrators in such an important affair. They were sorry for not giving heed to the messengers which necessitated the Caliph to depute his own son to come to them asking their assistance. They finally concluded that they ought to obey their Caliph and must comply with such a reasonable demand. Hasan told them that he was going back to his father and that those who thought fit to accompany him might do so, while others may follow by land or by water. Accordingly †nine thousand Kufians came over to Ali, some by land and some by water. Welcoming them, Ali said to them: "I have called you hither to be witnesses between us and our brethren of Bussorah. If they submit peaceably, it is what we desire; if they persist we will heal them with gentle usage, unless they fall upon us injuriously. We, on our part, will omit nothing that may, by any means, contribute to an accomodation, which we must prefer to the desolation of war." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 306.*

Hasan b. Ali raising a levy of 9000 Kufians.

The army of the Caliph, having been reinforced from other quarters as well, now numbered twenty thousand

† Tabari.

strong, and with this army he advanced towards Bussorah. ‡While staying at Zhi-Qár, Ali wrote letters to Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir warning them against the unwise steps they had taken and telling them that none of them could stand as legitimate avengers of the blood of Othmán, who was an Omyyad while none of them belonged to Bani Omyya. Ayesha sent a reply that affairs had already reached a stage at which warnings were useless; while Talha and Zobeir gave no written answer but sent word to inform him that they were not prepared to obey his dictates and that he was at liberty to do whatever he wished.

Ali's arrival at Bussorah.

Ayesha's army numbered thirty thousand, but it consisted mostly of raw recruits, while that of Ali's was composed principally of veterans and men who had seen service and the Companions of the Prophet. When Ali appeared with his forces marshalled in an imposing battle array before Bussorah, Ayesha and her confederates were struck with terror. ¶ Approaching Bussorah, Ali sent Qa'qá b. Amr, a Companion of the Prophet, to the rebel leaders to negotiate peace if possible. Ayesha replied that Ali should personally negotiate with them. †When Ali arrived, messages passed between the hostile forces with a view to compromising the matter. Ali, Talha and Zobeir were seen holding long conversations, walking about together backward and forward in the sight of both the armies, and the negotiations went so far that every one expected that a peace would be effected; for Ali, with his impressive eloquence, touched the hearts of Talha and Zobeir warning them against the judgement of Heaven and challenging them to the Ordeal of invoking heavenly wrath on those who promoted and prompted the murder of Othmán instigating the malefactors. In one of their conferences Ali asked Zobeir: "Hast thou forgotten how the Apostle of God once asked

‡ Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb. ¶ Al-Murtudza; Abbási.
†Tabari; Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb; Imámat-wal-Siyásat.

thee if thou did not love his dear son Ali, and when thou answered 'Yes', dost thou not remember the Prophet's prophecy: that 'nevertheless, there will come a day when thou wilt rise up against him and bring many miseries upon him and upon all the Mussalmans.' Zobeir answered that he remembered it perfectly well and he felt sorry, that had he remembered it before, he would never have taken up arms against him. Zobeir appeared determined not to fight against Ali. He returned to his Camp and acquainted Ayesha with what had passed between himself and Ali. "It is said that upon this hint he declined fighting with Ali, but that having acquainted Ayesha with the circumstances, that woman was so envenomed against him (Ali), that she would not listen to an accomodation on any terms. Others say, that his son Abdalláh (adopted by Ayesha) turned him again by asking him whether or no he was afraid of Ali's colours. Upon Zobeir answering 'No, but that he was sworn to Ali', Abdalláh bade him expiate his oath, which he did by giving a slave his liberty, and forthwith prepared without further hesitation, to fight against Ali." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 307.*

The two armies were lying opposite to one another on the same field. During the night one party fell upon the other, each blaming the other for occasioning the necessity of a drawn battle. The reader may find out which of the two parties was to blame for this night attack. Which party attempted at pacification to avoid bloodshed, and which thwarted the attempts. The circumstances related above are only too clear to indicate the truth.

The battle of the camel; 'Jamal.'

Early next morning, Friday the 16th of Jamádi II, 36 A.H. (November 656 A.D.) Ayeshá took the field, mounted in a litter on her great camel Al-Askar and riding up and down among her troops, animating them by her presence and by her voice. In history the battle is named 'the battle of the camel' after the strange animal on which Ayesha was mounted, though it was fought on the field of Khoreiba close

to Bussorah. Ali's army faced the enemy in battle array, but the Caliph ordered them not to take the offensive unless the enemy began the onset. He further gave stringent orders that no wounded should be slain, no fugitive pursued, no plunder seized nor the privacy of any house violated. In the meantime, showers of arrows were pouring in from the enemy; still Ali forbade his soldiers to return the shot and bade them wait. "To the very last moment Ali evinced a decided repugnance to shed the blood of a Mussalman; and just before the battle, he endeavoured to turn the adverse party to their allegiance by a solemn appeal to the Qurán. A person named Muslim immediately offered himself for the service; and uplifting a copy of the sacred volume with his right hand, this individual proceeded to admonish the enemy to recede from their unwarranted designs. But the hand which bore the holy Manuscript was severed from his arms by one* of the infuriated multitude. Seizing the charge with his left, that limb was also divided by another scimitar. Still, however, pressing it to his bosom with his mutilated remnants, he continued his exhortations until finally despatched by the swords of the enemy. His body was subsequently recovered by his friends and prayers pronounced over it by Ali in person; after which, taking up a handful of dust, and scattering it towards the insurgents, that prince imprecated upon them the retribution of an avenging Deity. In the meantime, the impetuosity of Ali's followers could no longer be restrained. Drawing their swords and pointing their spears, they rushed impetuously to the combat, which was supported on all sides with extraordinary fierceness and animosity "*Price's Mohd. His. quoted by S. Ockley p. 308.*

Talha's fate.

†During the heat of the battle when the victory began to incline towards Ali, Marwán b. al-Hakam (Secy. of the late Caliph Othmán) one of the Officers in Ayesha's army, noticed Talha urging his troops to fight valiently. 'Behold the traitor,' said he to

*According to Tabari (Persian) by Talha.

†Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

his slave attendant, 'but recently he was one of the murderers of the aged Caliph, now he stands the pretended avenger of his blood. What a mockery! All to gain worldly grandeur.' So saying he, in a fit of hatred and fury, shot Talha with an arrow which pierced his leg right through and struck his horse, who reared and threw the rider to the ground. In the anguish of the moment, Talha cried: "O God, take vengeance upon me for Othmán according to Thy will!" and then called for help. Seeing his footwear full of blood, he asked one of his men to pick him up behind him on his horse and convey him to Bussorah. Finding his death approaching, he called one of Ali's men, who happened to be present, 'Give me thine hand,' said the dying penitent, 'that I may put mine in it and by this act renew my oath of fealty to Ali.' With these words Talha breathed his last. It touched the generous heart of Ali when he heard it, and he said, 'Alláh would not call him to heaven until He had blotted out his first breach of his word by this last vow of fidelity.' Talha's son Mohammed was also killed in this battle.

Zobeir's fate.

Remorse and compunction had been aroused in the heart of Zobeir at Ali's reminding him of the Prophet's prophecy. He had entered, no doubt, into the battle at the instance of Ayesha and his own son, but his heart was heavy. Now he saw that †Ammár Yásir, the venerable old Companion of the Prophet, noted for his probity and uprightness, was a General in the Caliph's army; he recollected having heard from the Prophet's lips that Ammár was a person that would always be found on the side of justice and right and that he would fall under the sword of rebels. It all looked ominous to Zobeir and with a boding spirit he withdrew from the field of battle and all alone took the road to Mecca. When he came to the valley crossed by the brook Sabá where Ahnaf b. Qais was encamped with a horde of Arabs (as already observed), awaiting the issue of the battle, he was identified by

†Ibn Athir.

Ahnaf at a distance. 'Can not any one bring me tidings of Zobeir,' said he to his men. One of his men, Amr b. Jarmuz, understood the hint and immediately set off. Zobeir, seeing him approach, suspected some evil intent and bade him keep his distance. But after some discourse they made friends and both dismounted to offer prayers as it was the time for prayers. When Zobeir prostrated himself in the prayers, Amr took his opportunity and struck off Zobeir's head with one stroke of his scimitar. He carrid the head to Ali, who shed tears at the sight of it. It was the head of one who was once his friend. Turning to the man he said, 'Go, villain! Carry thy news to Ibn Safiah in hell.' This unexpected malediction so enraged the wretch, who expected a reward, that he uttered a rhapsody of abuse upon Ali; and in a fit of desperation he drew his sword and plunged it through his own heart.

Defeat of Ayesha.

Such was the end of the two great leaders of the rebels. As to Ayesha, the implacable soul of the revolt, the brave lady was still screaming unceasingly with her shrill voice, 'slay the murderers of Othmán, urging her men to fight. But the troops, bereft of their leaders, had already lost heart and were falling back upon the city. Seeing, however, that she was in peril, they stayed their flight and turned to her rescue. Rallying round her camel, one after another rushed to seize the bridle and the Standard, and one after another they were cut down. Thus seventy men perished by the bridle of the ill fated animal. Her litter, steel-plated and constructed like a cage, bristled all over with darts and arrows, and over the hump of the huge beast looked like a startled and angry hedgehog. "Convinced that the battle must remain in suspense as long as the camel continued to exhibit a rallying point to the defenders of Ayesha, Ali signified his desire to those around him that their efforts should be directed to bring down the animal. After repeated and desperate assaults, Málik-al-Ashtar succeeded at length in forcing a passage and immediately struck off

one of the camel's legs. The animal preserved its posture, notwithstanding, erect and unmoved. Another leg was struck off equally without effect, and Málik-al-Ashtar, under an impression of astonishment and awe, was hesitating whether he should proceed, when Ali drew near and called out to him to strike boldly, though the animal might appear to be under the care of a supernatural agency. Thus stimulated, Málik smote the third leg, and the camel immediately sank to the earth. The litter of Ayesha being thus brought to the ground, Mohammed, the son of Abubekr, was directed by Ali to take charge of his sister and protect her from being injured by the missiles which still flew from all quarters. He drew near accordingly, but introducing his hand into the litter and happening to touch that of Ayesha, she loaded him with abuse and execration, demanding what reprobate had presumed to stretch his hand where none but the Prophet's had been permitted to intrude. Mohammed replied, that though it was the hand of her nearest in blood, it was also that of her bitterest enemy. Recognizing, however, the well known accents of her brother, the apprehensions of Ayesha were speedily dispelled." *Price's Mohd. His. as quoted by S. Ockley p. 310.*

Ali's magnanimity towards the enemy.

"Ayesha might have looked for cruel treatment at the hands of Ali, having been his vindictive and persevering enemy, but he was too magnanimous to triumph over a fallen foe." *W. Irving's Succ. of Mohd. p. 179.* When all the confusion of the battle was over, Ali came to her and asked her how she fared. Finding that she was all right and had escaped without injury, he reproachfully said to her, 'Had the Prophet directed thee to behave in this way?' She replied, 'You are victorious, be good to your fallen foe.' Ali reproached her no more and directed her brother Mohammed, who took her to the house of Abdalláh b. Khalaf a Khozáite, who was a leading citizen of Bussorah and was killed fighting for Ayesha. She asked her brother to trace out Abdalláh, the son of Zobeir, who

was subsequently found lying wounded on the battlefield among the dead and wounded. As desired by Ayesha, he was brought before Ali for pardon and forgiveness. The generous-hearted conqueror magnanimously announced general amnesty to all the rebels and their confederates along with Abdalláh b. Zobeir. In spite of all this, Marwán and the Omyyads fled to Mo'áwiya in Syria or to Mecca.

Carnage in the battle.

The losses in the battle were very great. Some † historians say that 16,796 men of Ayesha's forces and 1,070 of Ali's army were killed in the battle. Others ‡ say that 10,000 of Ayesha's followers and 5,000 of Ali's men were slain. The field was, however, covered all over with the dead bodies of the slain. A trench was dug and the dead bodies of the friends and foes together were buried by order of the Caliph.

Retirement of Ayesha.

When all was quiet, Ali sent ¶ Abdalláh b. Abbás to ask Ayesha to go to Medina, but she declined, saying that she would not go to a place where the Bani Háshim were to be found. Some reproachful discourse passed between the two, after which Ibn Abbás came back to Ali and reported her refusal. Málik-al-Ashtar was then sent to her, but he also failed in his attempts to persuade her. Then Ali himself went to her and told her that she was required to sit quietly at her home where she should now go to take her abode in the place where the Prophet left her, forgetting the past. 'The Lord pardon thee,' he said, 'for what hath passed and have mercy upon thee.' But she paid no heed to his words. At ‖ last, he sent his son Hasan with the message that if she persisted in her refusal to go to her house in Medina, she would be treated in the way of

† Habib-al-Siyar; Kashf-al-Ghamma.

‡ Tabari. ¶ Mas'udi; Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb.

‖ Rawdzat-al-Ahbáb; Manáqib Murtadzavi; Habib-al-Siyar; A'tham Kufi.

which she was well acquainted. When Hasan visited her, she was dressing her hair, but hearing the message she was so perplexed that leaving her head half dressed she got up and ordered preparations for the journey. Hasan retired, but the ladies of the house enquired of her what it was in the boy that made her so uneasy after her rejecting Ibn Abbás, Málik-al-Ashtar and even Ali's suggestion. Then she narrated the incident which showed that the Prophet had authorized Ali to divorce any of the Prophet's wives during his life or after. Hasan, said she, was the bearer of a warning from Ali to enforce that authority, which made her so uneasy. Ali made proper arrangements for Ayesha's journey and directed his two sons, Hasan and Hosain, to escort her to a day's march, himself accompanying her for some distance, "By the direction of Ali, Ayesha was escorted by a retinue of women (40 or 70), apparelled as men, and their familiar approach afforded a constant subject of complaint. On her arrival at Medina, however, she discovered the delicacy of the imposture, and became as liberal in her acknowledgments as she had before been in her reproaches." *Price's Mohd. His as quoted by S. Ockley p. 310.*

The Spoils of war.

It has been noticed that Ali had forbidden his armies to seize any plunder. "So carefully were Ali's orders against plundering observed, that whatever was found on the field, or in the insurgent Camp, was gathered together in the great mosque, and every man was allowed to claim his own. To the malcontents, who complained that they were not allowed to take booty, Ali replied that the rights of war, in this case, lasted only so long as the ranks were arrayed against each other, and that immediately on submission, the insurgents resumed their rights and privileges as brother Moslems. Having entered the city, he divided the contents of the Treasury amongst the troops which had fought on his side, promising them a still larger reward when the Lord should have delivered Syria into his hands." *Muir's Annals, p. 366.*

Transfer of the seat of government.

Ali's stay in Bussorah was not long. Having appointed Abdalláh b. Abbás as Governor, the Caliph repaired to Kufa in the month of Rajab, 36 A. H. Apprehensive of Mo'áwiya's designs against him, Ali considered Kufa suitably situated to check any encroachment in Iráq or Mesopotamia; or, in recognition of the assistance he had received from the Kufians, he transferred the seat of his government to Kufa from Medina and made it the centre of Islam and the capital of the Empire, as topographically it was in the centre of his dominions.

Ali's dominion.

The conspiracy of Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir having been crushed at the Khoreiba battlefield, this victory had given Ali quiet and complete sway over the territories from Khorásán in the east to Egypt in the west with the exception of the provinces in the north-west of Arabia, which were under the Governor of Syria *viz.* Mo'áwiya.

Mo'awiya's preliminary activities.

It has already been observed that during his sojourn at Medina on the occasion of his visit to Caliph Othmán, Mo'áwiya one day happened to ask Ka'b-al-Ahbár how the prevailing disturbances against Othmán would end. Ka'b predicted that Othmán would be murdered and that in the long run the Grey Mule (meaning Mo'áwiya) would succeed in rising to power. Relying on this prophecy, Mo'áwiya looked forward to chances of his rise to the sovereign authority and lost no opportunity of taking measures to promote the object in view. Thus was it:—that, he was slack in sending succour † demanded by Othmán when he was besieged; that, when Othmán was murdered, he was busy in stirring up the Syrians to avenge his blood by exhibiting from the pulpit the gory shirt of the murdered Caliph; that, to let the spirit of revolt ripen among the Syrians, he long detained the envoy from Ali and evaded a definite answer to the invitation of the Caliph demanding homage from him; that, he gathered around him

† Rawdzat-al-Safá.

several discontented men of note, such as † Obeidalláh (the son of Caliph Omar, the murderer who had escaped for fear of being summoned to the tribunal before Ali), Abdalláh b. Abi Sarh (the ex-governor of Egypt who was displaced when Ali came to power), Marwán (the secretary and the evil genius of Caliph Othmán) and almost all the immediate adherents of that Caliph, and the Omyyads who had fled to him when Ayesha was defeated at Bussorah; that, he secured the alliance of Amr b. As, the conqueror of Egypt and the ex-governor of that country, now residing in Palestine as a landlord but as a discontented man; (With the ‡ stipulation of his restoration to the same government as the reward for his successful co-operation in deposing Ali, he took the oath of allegiance to Mo'áwiya acknowledging him the lawful Caliph, in the presence of all the army, who also took the oath of fealty. They were followed by the Syrian public who joined in the acclamations at this grand ceremony); that, he sought allegiance ¶ of several distinguished Companions of the Prophet, such as Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, Abdalláh b. Omar, Osáma b Zaid, Mohammed b. Maslama, who were noted for not having done fealty to Ali on his inauguration as Caliph, but they chose to remain aloof from either party and wrote reproachful answers to Mo'áwiya. At this period Abu Horeira, Abu-al-Darda, Abu Osáma Báhili and No'mán b. Bashir Ansári were the only Companions in attendance at the court of Mo'áwiya; that, being for over twenty years governor of the rich province of Syria and pursuing a far-sighted policy from the very beginning as noticed on page 313, he had amassed an immense treasure and had a powerful army at his command. Now he had in his favour the prejudices of the Syrians in general and of his armies in particular, who had been artfully taught to implicate Ali in the murder of Caliph Othmán. The blood-stained shirt of Othmán was still hung over the pulpit in the great mosque of Damascus, and the people, inflamed by its sight, sobbed

† Rawdzat-al-Safá. ‡ Mas'udi. ¶ Habib-al-Siyar.

aloud and cried for vengeance on the murderers and those who sheltered them. Such was the formidable adversary with whom Ali had to deal after he had done with Ayesha, Talha and Zobeir.

Ali's march to Syrian frontier.

Apprised of these commotions in Syria, Ali once more tried (Sha'bán 36 A. H. or Jany. 657 A. D.) to use conciliatory means by deputing a Chief of the Bani Bajila named Jarir, the Governor of Hamdán, who happened to be at Kufa, having been summoned to pay homage to the Caliph, and who was known to entertain friendly relations with Mo'áwiya. His return was anxiously awaited. At length, † he came back after three months with an oral message from Mo'áwiya that the allegiance sought for could only be tendered if punishment were meted out to the murderers of Othmán. Málik-al-Ashtar accused him for having wasted time in effeminate pleasures with Mo'áwiya, who purposely kept him so long to mature his plans of hostilities. Pretending to be offended with this imputation, Jarir left Kufa and joined Mo'áwiya.

Finding Mo'áwiya hopelessly alienated, Ali resolved to march upon Syria without any further delay. In the month of Zi-Qa'da, 36 A. H. or April 657 A. D. sending out a detachment as an advance guard to meet him at Riqqa, he himself with his army proceeded to Medáen. He despatched a contingent from Madáen and marched crossing the Mesopotamian desert.

The Miraculous fountain in the Mesopotamian desert.

On his way he had to halt at a place where no water was avilable and the want was keenly felt by the army. A Christian hermit, who lived in a cave near the camping grounds, was sent for and asked to point out some well. He assured Ali that there was no well in the vicinity all around but there was a cistern near by, which contained not more than three buckets of rain water. Ali then said, 'I know, however, that some of the Bani Israel prophets of ancient times had fixed their abode in this

† Ibn Khaldun.

place and had dug a pit for their stock of water.' The hermit replied that he also had heard of it, but it had been shut up for ages and all traces of it were lost; and that there was an old tradition that none but a prophet or one sent by a prophet would discover and re-open it. "He then, says the Arabian tradition, † produced a parchment scroll written by Simeon bin Safá (Simon Cephos), one of the greatest apostles of Jesus Christ, predicting the coming of Mohammed, the last of the Prophets, and that this well would be discovered and re-opened by his lawful heir and successor. Ali listened with becoming reverence to this prediction; then turning to his attendants and pointing to a spot, 'dig there,' said he. They digged, and after a time came to an immense stone, which having been removed with difficulty, the miraculous well stood revealed, affording a seasonable supply to the army, and an unquestionable proof of the legitimate claim of Ali to the Caliphate. The venerable hermit was struck with conviction; he fell at the feet of Ali, embraced his knees, and never afterwards would leave him." *W. Irving's Succ. of Mohd. p. 180.*

Having offered thanks to God, and taking water sufficient for the army, Ali resumed his march. Crossing the Mesopotamian desert, he reached Riqqa on the banks of the Euphrates. A bridge of boats was constructed and the army crossing the river advanced westward, where they met the Syrian outposts at Sur-al-Rum. After some skirmishes between the vanguards of the two armies, the enemy gave way and Ali's army advancing forward came in sight of the main body of Mo'áwiya's forces, already stationed at Siffien, (Zhilhajja 36 A. H. or May 657 A. D.)

Ali's Camp at Siffien.

The following interesting circumstance is related by Major Price as having taken place at the commencement of the war:—"As Siffien commanded, to a considerable distance, the only access to the waters of the Euphrates, Mo'áwiya had stationed Abul Awr, one of his Generals, with ten thousand

† Rawdzat-al-Safá vol. ii, p. 292; Jame'-al-Tawárikh, p. 183 etc.

men, to guard the communication from the troops of Ali. He had not long placed his army in this advantageous position, when Ali approached and pitched his Camp in the same neighbourhood, and his followers soon found that their expected supply of water was intercepted. Under these circumstances, Ali sent a deputation to Mo'áwiya to request he would relinquish an advantage which appeared so inconsistent between kindred, though at present hostile tribes, assuring him that had he been possessed of it, the passage should have been equally free to both armies. Mo'áwiya immediately made known the message to his courtiers, most of whom contended that as the murderers of Othmán had cut off all supplies of water when they besieged his palace, so on the present occasion it would only be just to retaliate. Amr. b. As, however, dissented from this opinion, declaring that Ali would not suffer his army to perish of thirst with the warlike legions of Iráq at his heels and the Euphrates before his eyes, and added that they were contending for the Caliphate not for a skin of water. But the first counsel prevailed, and the messenger was dismissed with the reply that Mo'áwiya was resolved not to forego what he considered to be the earnest of future victory. The result of this application occasioned Ali considerable vexation and perplexity, till at length the privations became unbearable, and Málik-al-Ashtar and Ash'as the son of Qais begged to be allowed to open the communication with their swords. Permission being granted, and proclamation being made throughout the Camp, in less than an hour, ten thousand men had flocked to the Standard of Málik-al-Ashtar, and an equal number to the tent of Ash'as. Disposing these troops in convenient order, the two chieftains conducted each their army towards the channel of the Euphrates, and after vainly warning Abul Awr to quit the banks of the river, Málik at the head of the Cavalry and Ash'as at the head of the Foot, immediately closed upon the enemy. During the action that succeeded, Málik was nearly exhausted with thirst and exertion, when a soldier by his side begged him

to accept a draught of water, but the generous warrior refused to accept the indulgence till the sufferings of his followers had been allayed, and at the same time being assailed by the enemy, he laid seven of their bravest soldiers in the dust. But the raging thirst of Málik and his troops became at length intolerable, and he directed all that were furnished with water bags to follow him through the ranks of their opponents without quitting his person until they should have filled all their vessels. Piercing the line of the adverse party, Málik made good his way to the river whilst his followers supplied themselves with water. The conflict raged with unabated fury in the bed of the Euphrates, till Abul Awr, finding his troops give way before the resistless attack of their assailants, and being already beaten from his post, despatched a messenger to Mo'áwiya who immediately sent Amr b. As with three thousand horse to his relief. The arrival of that General, however, seems to have rendered the victory of Málik more signal and decisive. No sooner did the latter descry the approach of Amr than, covering himself with his shield, he urged his courser towards him with irresistible impetuosity, and Amr only eluded the fury of his adversary by retiring within the ranks of the Syrians. The latter, however, were put to the sword in great numbers, many were drowned in the Euphrates, whilst the remainder fled for refuge to the camp of Mo'áwiya; and the troops of Ali having thus successfully dislodged the enemy, established themselves in quiet possession of the watering place and its approaches. Smarting under the reproaches of Amr, Mo'áwiya now found himself reduced to the necessity of applying to his adversary for the indulgence which he had so recently withheld; but Ali, with the liberality and magnanimity so congenial to his general character, readily granted to his troops a free communication to the Euphrates, and from this time the followers of either army passed and re-passed to the river with equal confidence and freedom of intercourse." *S. Ockley's History Sar. p. 312.*

Ali divided his forces, which numbered 90,000, into seven columns each commanded by a Companion of the Prophet or a Chieftain of renown. The Commanders were; Ammár Yasir, Abdalláh b. Abbás, Qais b. Sa'd b. Obáda, Abdalláh b. Ja'far, Málik-al-Ashtar, Ash'as b. Qais Kindi and Sa'id b. Qais Hamdáni.

Desultory fighting for one month.

Mo'áwiya had similarly divided his men, 1,20,000 which greatly outnumbered the army of Ali, into seven or eight columns under the following commanders: Amr b. As, Abdalláh b. Amr b. As, Obeidalláh b. Omar, Abul Awr, Zhul Kalá' Homeiri, Abd-al-Rahmán b. Khálid b. Walid, and Habib b. Maslama. Every day one of these columns from each army took the field by turn and engaged in skirmishing or single combat, in which case only one champion from each side fought till the heat of the sun became intolerable. In this way the contest was kept up for the whole month of Zhilhajja, as Ali was desirous to avoid serious loss of the Moslems in a decisive battle.

The next year (37 A. H) having set in with Moharram, in which fighting was forbidden, both the armies lay encamped in sight of one another without practical activities. During this month of truce Ali earnestly wished to conciliate Mo'áwiya in order to avert the impending crisis and re-opened negotiations. The whole month passed in sending or receiving deputations but all to no purpose. Ali clearly pointed out that, as Caliph, he was ready to vindicate the majesty of the Divine Law on the murderers of Othmán, if they were only named by Mo'áwiya. But Mo'áwiya, entertaining ambitious designs upon the Caliphate under cover of the pretended revenge of the blood of Othmán, which had so far been his strength and had secured him so big an army, would not accede to any terms before the murderers of Othmán were exterminated.

The hostilities were resumed with the beginning of the next month (Safar, 37 A. H.). For a week the battles raged with unceasing fury till sunset separated the contesting parties. Every

Furious battles at Siffien.

day the conflict became severer and more embittered. In the second week Ali made up his mind to bring on a decisive engagement. The authorities quoted by Price, enter very minutely into various individual contests which took place during this protracted campaign. †"In several of these Ali was personally engaged; but his extraordinary strength and skill was so well known to the opposite party, that he was obliged to disguise himself before an assailant would attack him. On one occasion, being mounted on the horse and arrayed in the armour of one of his Chiefs, he was attacked by a warrior from Mo'áwiya's army; and we are told that with a single sweep of his scimitar, the Caliph severed the upper from the lower half of his body. It is said that such was the keenness and temper of the steel, and the rapidity and precision of the stroke, that the man thus severed in twain continued fixed in the saddle, the spectators concluding that Ali had missed his blow, until the horse chanced to move, when the two halves of the body fell to the ground."

Ammar's fall in the battle.

"The carnage, chiefly in the ranks of Mo'áwiya, was very great in these battles. Among the ranks of Ali the loss of certain distinguished Companions was regretted by friends and foes alike. Ammár Yasir was deeply grieved when Háshim b. Otba, the hero of Qádisia fell fighting by his side. As he saw Háshim fall, he exclaimed to his fellows: 'O Paradise! how close thou couchest beneath the arrow's point and the falchion's flash! O Háshim even now I see heaven opened, and black-eyed maidens, all bridally attired, clasping thee in their fond embrace.' So singing, and refreshing himself with his favourite draught of milk and water, the aged warrior, fired again with the ardour of youth, rushed into the enemy's ranks and met the envied fate. It had long been in every one's mouth both in town and Camp, that Mohammed had once said to him: 'By a godless and rebellious race, O Ammár, thou shalt one day be slain;' in other words (so the saying was interpreted), Ammár would

† S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 314.

be killed fighting on the side of right. Thus his death, as it were, condemned the cause of the ranks against whom he fought; and so it spread dismay in Mo'áwiya's host. When Amr b. As heard of it, he answered readily: 'And who is it that hath killed Ammár, but Ali the Rebellious, that brought him hither?' The clever repartee ran through the Syrian host, and did much at once to efface the evil omen." *Muir's Annals p. 382.* Other versions of Ammár's last words run as follows: 'The thirsty man longeth for water; and here, close by, it welleth up. Descend to the spring (death) and drink. This is the joyful day of meet-ing with friends, with Mohammed and his Companions.' *Wackidi quoted in Muir's Annals p. 382.* "By Alláh! I do not know a deed more pleasing to God than to war against these lawless vagabonds. I would fight them even if I was assured of being run through with a lance; for the death of a martyr, and the paradise beyond, are only to be acquired in the ranks of Ali. However courageously our enemies may fight, still justice is on our side; they desire not to revenge Othmán's death, but ambition ...ives them to revolt. Follow me, Companions of the ...ophet! the gates of Heaven are opened, and houris are ...ting to receive us. Let us triumph here, or meet ...ohammed and his friends in Paradise!" With these ...ords he gave his charger the lash, and plunged with desperate violence into the hottest of the fight, till, at length, he was surrounded by the Syrians, and fell a sacrifice to his own courage. His death stirred up Ali's troops to revenge, whilst even the Syrians regretted his loss, from the high esteem in which Ammár had been held by the Prophet." *Weil, Geschicte der Chalifen quoted in Ockley's His. Sar. p. 314.* Beholding Ammár fall, Mo'áwiya cried to Amr b. As, who was sitting by him, 'Do you see, what precious lives are lost in our dissensions?' 'See'! exclaimed Amr, 'would to God I had not lived to see such a catastrophe.' Ammár Yasir, the patriarch of Moslem chivalry was ninety three years of age; he had served the Prophet in Bedr and several other engagements. He was now Ali's

General of the Horse. He lived reverenced and died lamented by all. Having fallen wounded by a lance of Joweir Oskoni, he was brought to his tent where Ali, taking his head into his lap, shed tears of sorrow and offered prayers for the dead friend.

Ali's furious charge on the enemy.

Ali was as much annoyed as grieved at the loss of his brave General and friend. Putting himself at the head of twelve thousand of his Cavalry, he made a furious charge on the enemy, trying to reach Mo'áwiya, whose pavilion was surrounded by five compact rows of his own body-guard behind the lines of the fighting ranks. Breaking the ranks, Ali confronted the body guard. They also could not withstand the fierce shock of the charge. All the rows were broken and coming within earshot of Mo'áwiya, Ali called him saying: 'Come forth O Mo'áwiya! How long shalt the blood of the Moslems flow over the battle-field in the strife between we two? Let us have a duel and let God decide our fate, whoever kills his adversary shalt be the master.' 'Fairly spoken,' said Amr b. As to Mo'áwiya and he urged him to accept the challenge, telling him that his refusal would discredit him for ever. But sneering at Amr, Mo'áwiya replied that the provocation was prudently made to secure for him the Government of Syria, because he knew full well that Ali's antagonist in fight never escaped death.

Scandalous plight of Amr b. As.

† "Amr b. As, however, does not seem to have possessed a much larger share of personal valour than Mo'áwiya on this occasion. Price tells us that a short time afterwards, Ali, having changed his armour and disguised himself, again appeared in the lists. Unconscious of his identity, Amr b. As advanced a few steps, and Ali, pretending a degree of apprehension, still further encouraged him to proceed. They were both on horse back, and as Amr neared his foe, he repeated certain bragging lines, importing discomfiture and havoc he intended to carry into the

S. Ockley's His. Sar. P. 315.

enemy's army, even though a thousand such as Ali were numbered in their ranks. Ali replied in a strain which rather unexpectedly announced his identity. Away went Amr b. As, without a moment's delay, whipping and spurring as fast as possible, whilst Ali pursued with the utmost eagerness, and making a well directed plunge, the point of his lance passed through the skirts of Amr's coat of mail, and brought him, head foremost, to the earth. Unfortunately (rather fortunately) as Amr wore no drawers, and his heels were in the air, that part of his person became exposed which we shall forbear to particularize. In this situation Ali scorned to do him any further injury, and suffered him to escape with the contemptuous remark, that he was never to forget the circumstance to which he was indebted for life and safety. A very humorous account has been preserved of the conversation that ensued between Amr and Mo'áwiya at their next interview which we here insert:—

Mo'áwiya.—I give thee credit, Amr, for thy ingenuity, and believe thou art the first warrior that ever escaped the sword by so scandalous an exposure. You ought to be grateful to those organs to the day of thy death.

Amr b. As.—Cease thy railing, Moáwiya! hadst thou been in my place, thy pride had been completely humbled, and thy wives and children widowed and fatherless. These sarcasms come not well from you who turned pale and trembling at Ali's challenge.

Mo'áwiya.—Pray, Amr, how didst thou breathe with thy legs swinging in the air? If thou hadst known how thou were to be disgraced, thou surely wouldst have worn a pair of drawers.

Amr b. As.—I only retreated from the superior strength of my enemy.

Mo'áwiya.—Oh, I do not consider it disgraceful to yield to Ali, but I maintain it was scandalous to make flag-staffs of thy legs, and expose thy-

self so shamefully to him and all the world.

Amr b. As.—It cannot be surprising that Ali should have spared me when he recollected me to be his uncle's son.

Mo'áwiya.—Nay Amr, ‡ this is too arrogant. The Prophet declared that Ali was of the same descent as himself, and we all know that his father was a Chief of the illustrious race of Háshim, whereas thine was a common butcher, of the tribe of Qoreish.

Amr b. As.—Great God! Your remarks are worse than the swords and arrows of the enemy. Had I never involved myself in thy quarrel, nor bartered my enternal welfare for worldly profit, I should never have been forced to bear with such speeches, or endure such a burden of labour and anxiety."

Hotly contested battle.

† "One day, towards the close of the campaign, Ali prepared for battle with unusual solemnity. Clad in the Prophet's mail and turban, and mounted on the Prophet's horse, Riyáh, he brought out the old and venerated Standard of Mohammed. The appearance of the sacred relic, now worn to shreds, brought sobs and tears from the illustrious Companions who had so often fought and conquered under its shadow, and the enthusiastic troops drew out in formidable strength beneath the holy banner. Mo'áwiya had assembled twelve thousand of the best warriors of Syria, when Ali, sword in hand, rushed upon them at the

‡ "He (Amr) was the son of a courtezan of Mecca, who seems to have rivalled in fascination the Phrynes and Aspasias of Greece, and to have numbered some of the noblest of the land among her lovers. When she gave birth to this child, she mentioned several of the tribe of Qoreish who had equal claims to the paternity. The infant was declared to have most resemblance to As, the oldest of her admirers, whence, in addition to his name of Amr he received the designation of Ibn-al-As, the son of As." *W. Irving's Life of Mohammed p. 48.*

† S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 315.

head of his impetuous veterans to the cry of Alláh o Akbar, and threw the enemy into immediate confusion. The Syrians at length recovered from the disorder. The tribe of Awk on the side of Mo'áwiya and that of Hamdánites on the part of Ali, each made a solemn vow never to quit the field whilst one of their opponents remained to dispute it. A dismal slaughter among the bravest of both armies was the result. Heads rolled about like tennis balls, and streams of blood polluted the field in all directions; but in the issue, the Syrians suffered a total defeat, and retired in the utmost confusion." *Price's Mohammedan History.*

Decisive battles at Siffien. Valiant fight of Malik-al-Ashtar.

The battles of Siffien at last were fought desperately on the 11th, 12th and 13th of Safar, 37 A.H. War continued raging in the moon-lit night of 13th rather more furiously than in the day. Like the night of Qádisia field, this night was called a second Lailat-al-Harir or 'Night of Clangour.' Málik-al-Ashtar mounted on a piebald horse, wielding a two-edged broad sword repeatedly shouted Alláh o Akbar. At every stroke of his terrible scimitar fell a warrior cleft down. History has it that he was heard to utter this awful exclamation no less than four hundred times during the night. The hero of the battle, resolved on victory, was pushing his attacks with sustained vigour and persistence. The morning dawned more disadvantageous to the Syrians, who were pressed hard to their encampment by the brave assailants. Mo'áwiya, who was eyeing the field with great anxiety grew more and more nervous when the ranks of his body-guard were cut to pieces. He despairingly bethought himself of flight and even called for his horse, when Amr b. As, who stood by, said to him: 'Courage, Mo'áwiya, be not disheartened! I have devised means to avert the crisis. Call the enemy to the Word of God by raising aloft the Holy Book. If they accept, it will lead to thy victory; if any refuse to abide thereby, it will sow discord amongst them.'

Mo'áwiya eagerly caught at the words, and in a moment † five hundred copies of the Qurán were raised aloft at the point of the lance. 'Behold', cried they, 'the Book of God, let it decide our differences.' This stratagem produced a magical effect on Ash'ath ‡ b. Qais and his followers and some Kufians, as if the artifice was anxiously awaited by them. They at once leaped forward and with one voice re-echoed the cry, 'The Book of God, let it decide our differences,' and they dropped their weapons. Hearing the tumult, Ali stepped forth and remonstrated with them: 'It is a trick.' he said, 'afraid of defeat the evil men have sought their safety by guile.' 'What!' they cried, 'Do you refuse to submit to the decision of the Qurán to which they call you?' 'That it is,' said Ali, 'which I have been fighting so long to bring them to, but they rebelled. Go on and fight your enemy. I know Mo'áwiya, Amr b. As, Ibn Abi Sarh, Habib and Dzohák better than you do. They ¶ have no regard for the religion or the Qurán.' 'Whatever that might be,' they persisted, 'but we are now called to Qurán and we must not decline it.' Thus they would not listen to any argument. At last in a revolting attitude, they threatened the Caliph, that unless he agreed, they would all desert him, or deliver him into the hands of his enemies, or serve him as Othmán was served. Further protest with such determined soldiery being of no avail, Ali said: 'Hold your wild and treasonable language, obey me and fight, but if you are intent upon disobedience, do as you like.' They refused obedience and pressed Ali to call back Málik-al-Ashtar from the field. (These men turned Sectaries and are known in the history as Khárijities). Málik-al-Ashtar, being summoned, at first refused, saying, 'I cannot leave the field. The victory is at hand.' On this answer of Málik the tumult of the Khárijites increased, insisting Ali to call him back at once. He then again sent for Al-Ashtar, saying: 'Of what avail is

Trick to avert the crisis.

† Mas'udi. ‡ Rawdzat-al-Safá. ¶ Ibn Khaldun.

victory when treason is rife in my own camp. Come back at once before I am murdered or delivered over to the enemy.' Málik-al-Ashtar reluctantly gave in and hurried to the Caliph. "A fierce altercation ensued between him and the angry soldiery. 'Ye were fighting', he said, 'but yesterday for the Lord, and the choicest among you lost their lives. What is it but that ye now acknowledge yourselves in the wrong, and the martyrs gone to hell?' 'Nay,' they answered; 'it is not so. Yesterday we fought for the Lord; and today, also for the Lord, we stay the fight.' On this Ashtar upbraided them as, traitors, cowards, hypocrites, and villains. In return they reviled him, and struck his charger with their whips. Ali interposed. The tumult was stayed." *Muir's Annals p. 384.*

Proposals for arbitration.

*Ash'ath b. Qais Kindi, stepping forth from amongst the Khárijites, asked permission of Ali to visit Mo'áwiya to enquire of him what his precise meaning was in raising the Qurán aloft. He went to Mo'áwiya and on his return said that Mo'áwiya and his party wished that the differences should be left to the arbitration of two Umpires, who might decide it according to the true sense of the Qurán, each party to nominate an Umpire and their verdict to be final. "Ash'ath the son Qais, one of those who had the greatest credit and influence among the soldiers of Iráq, and whose fidelity it was suspected † had been tampered with by Mo'áwiya, asked Ali, how he approved of this expedient. Ali answered him coldly, saying, 'He that is not at liberty cannot give his advice. It belongs to you to manage this affair according as you shall think fit among yourselves." *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 317.* The army, however, determined to follow it, shouted assent; and they named Abu Musa-al-Ash'ari, the late governor of Kufa who was deposed by Ali for his

* Ash'ath is the same man who in 17 A. H. had travelled all the way from Iráq to Kinnisrin in Syria in expectation of bounty from Khálid b. Walid, who gave him 1000 pieces of gold.

† According to Rawdzat-al-Safá a gift of one hundred thousand dirhams was promised by Mo'áwiya fo Ash'ath.

disloyalty as already noticed. 'This man,' said Ali, surprised at the designation, 'has already forsaken us; neither he hath now been fighting with us. The son of the Prophet's uncle *viz*. Abdalláh b. Abbás can preferably be chosen instead.' 'More preferably,' they ironically answered, 'name thy own self, why namest thou thy cousin?' They said they would have none but one who should deal impartially between him and Mo'áwiya. Ali then proposed Málik Al-Ashtar, but they obstinately forced him to accept none other than Abu-Musa as his representative. "It was a bitter choice for Ali, but he had no alternative. Abu-Musa had kept aloof from the battle, but must have been in the neighbourhood. When told of the arbitration, he exclaimed, 'The Lord be praised, who hath stayed the fighting'! 'But thou art appointed Arbiter on our side.' 'Alas! Alas!' he cried; and so in much trepidation, he repaired to Ali's camp. Ahnaf Ibn Qais asked to be appointed joint Umpire with Abu Musa, who, he said, was not the man to stand alone, nor had he tact and wit enough for the task:—'There is not a knot which Abu-Musa can tie, but I will unloose the same; nor a knot he can unloose, but I will find another still harder to unravel.' This was too true; but the army was in an insolent and perverse mood, and would have none but Abu-Musa. The Syrian arbiter was Amr b. As for whose deep and crafty ways Abu-Musa was no match." *Muir's Annals. p. 385*.

The Deed of Arbitration.

†The two referees (Abu-Musa and Amr b. As), having presented themselves in Ali's camp, a truce was put in writing. Dictated by Ali, it was begun thus: 'In the name of God, the most Gracious and Merciful. This is what had been agreed upon between the Commander of the Faithful Ali and......' Amr b. As objected to this and said, 'Ali is your commander but not ours; write down simple names Ali and Mo'áwiya.' Upon this Ali, remembering the prophecy uttered by the Prophet at Hodaibiya, told the people around him that a similar objection was raised by the Qoreish to delete

†Rawdzat-al-Safá, Habib-al-Siyar.

the words 'Apostle of God' appended to the name of the Prophet in the Treaty; that the Prophet yielded and erased out the words with his own hands when he saw me hesitating; that he then predicted that 'the day will come when I shall also have to yield to make a similar concession.' Hearing this, Amr b. As cried out, 'Dost thou represent our similarity to the Pagan Arabs in spite of our being good believers.' 'And when,'said Ali, 'an evil-born son had not been a friend of the wicked and a foe of the righteous?' Upon this Amr swore that he would never again seek the company of Ali, and Ali expressed his wish that God may keep him free of such a Companion. However, Ali yielded and the truce was written with simple names of Ali and Mo'áwiya, and signed, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to ratify and confirm the decision of the referees, which was to be determined some six or eight months later at some place midway between Kufa and Damascus. The Umpires swore that they would judge righteously in accordance with the Holy Book and without regard to partiality. This deed of Arbitration was executed on Wednesday, the 13th of Safar, 37 A. H. or 31st July, 657 A D.

The Carnage at Siffien.

†Ninety battles were fought at Siffien. The carnage had been very great. Most of the historians give the number of the slain on both sides, from first to the last, as seventy thousand. Of these forty five thousand were Syrians and twenty five thousand Iráqians. Ammár Yasir, Háshim b. Otba, Khazima b. Thábit, Abdalláh b. Bodail and Abul Hathim b. Teihán were the leading chiefs killed on Ali's side; while the men of distinction killed on Mo'áwiya's side were Zhul-Kalá' Homeiri, Obeidalláh b. Omar, Hoshab b. Zhi-Tzalim and Hábis b. Sa'd-al-Tai.

Return of the armies.

The truce having been arranged, Mo'áwiya escaped a defeat and gained his point for the present with bright hopes for the future. The armies having buried their dead, left the ill-starred battlefield

† Abul Fida.

Mo'áwiya retired to Damascus and Ali repaired to Kufa.

Decision of the Umpires.

The time for arbitration having come, the Umpires proceeded to Dumat-al-jondel or Azroh, each with a retinue of four hundred horsemen according to the agreement. Many a leading Chief from Mecca, Medina, Iráq and Syria went there to watch the proceedings, which were to decide the future of Islam. Abdalláh b. Abbás, who accompanied Abu-Musa to preside at the daily prayers, while having a discourse with Abu-Musa upon the topic of arbitration, urged him to beware of the crafty ways of his astute colleague and to keep particularly in his mind the fact that Ali had no blemish to render him incapable of government, nor Mo'áwiya any virtue to qualify him for it. When Abu-Musa reached Duma, Amr b. As received him with great deference. A private conference was held between the two alone in a pavilion erected for the purpose. Amr was already well aware of the weaknesses in Abu-Musa's character. He treated Abu-Musa with utmost respect and civility till he brought him completely under his influence. Having won his confidence, he made him admit that Othmán was foully murdered. Then he asked him why the avenger of his blood, a near relation of his and an able administrater *viz.* Mo'áwiya should not be taken as his successor. To this Abu-Musa replied that the succession should not be determined on such a basis which would give preference to Othmán's sons as legitimate claimants; but that they must above all things take care lest a mutiny should be kindled or civil wars break again. Upon this Amr b. As asked Abu-Musa how he would then propose to decide. 'Set aside,' said Abu-Musa, 'both Ali and Mo'áwiya, and let the Faithful elect a third. This is the simplest and safest solution of the problem.' 'I agree,' said Amr, 'let us go forth to pronounce.' A tribunal was erected from which each of the Umpires was to declare publicly his decision. Abu-Musa wished Amr to go up first, but Amr, alleging reasons to give preference to Ali's man, overcame all his scruples and insisted upon Abu Musa

going up first. Abu-Musa ascended and addressed the people thus: 'Brethren! I and Amr b. As, both of us, have given full consideration to the matter and have come to the conclusion that no other course to restore peace and to remove discord from the people can possibly be better than to depose both Ali and Mo'áwiya in order that people may have their choice of a better man in their stead. I therefore depose both Ali and Mo'áwiya from the Calihate to which they pretend, in the manner as I draw this ring from my finger.' Having made this declaration Abu-Musa came down. Amr b. As now took his turn and went up to announce what he had to declare. 'You have heard,' he said, 'how Abu-Musa on his part has deposed his chief Ali; I, on my part, do depose him too and I invest my chief Mo'áwiya with the Caliphate and I confirm him to it, as I put this ring upon my finger. I do this with justice because Mo'áwiya is the avenger of Othmán and his rightful successor.' So saying, he came down. This arbitration took place in the month of Ramadzán, 37 A. H. or February 658 A. D.

Amazement at the decision.

The audience were quite amazed at the unexpected issue of the arbitration. • Neither the Kufians dreamt of Amr b. As so shamefully over-reaching Abu-Musa, nor the Syrians ever thought of Mo'áwiya achieving such a triumph. Abu-Musa, confounded and bewildered, assailed from every side, said, 'what can I do, I have been duped by Amr, who first agreed with me then swerved aside.' As much as the Syrians applauded the decision, so much so the Kufians were enraged. In the heat of his indignation, Shureih, the commander of the Kufa escort, rushed upon Amr b. As and was roughly handling him when the people interposed and set them apart to have recourse only to mutual revilings. Laughed at by the Syrians and reproached by the Kufians, Abu-Musa felt deeply ashamed of having been outwitted by his colleague. Apprehending mischief, he made good his escape and fled to Mecca, where he thenceforth lived in obscurity and was not heard of any

more, though he died in 42 A. H. or according to others in 52 A. H.

"Many of the angry speeches at Duma by the chief men, who were bewildered at the strange denouement, have been preserved. These are some of them; The son of Omar: 'See what a pass Islam hath come to. Its great concern committed to two men: one who knoweth not right from wrong, the other a nincompoop.' Abubekr's son: 'Would that Abu-Musa had died before this affair; it had been better for him.' Abu-Musa himself is represented as abusing Amr in the language of the Qurán: 'His likeness is as the likeness of a dog, if thou drive him away, he putteth forth his tongue, and if thou leave him alone, still he putteth forth his tongue.' (*Sur. VII-77*). 'And thou,' retorted Amr, 'art like the donkey laden with books, and none the wiser for it.' (*Sur. VI-25*). Shureih, Commander of the Kufa escort, flew at Amr, and they belaboured each other with their whips till they were separated by the people. Shureih exclaimed that he only wished he had used his sword instead." *Muir's Annals p. 394.*

Amr b. As returned to Damascus, where Mo'áwiya, amidst the acclamations of joy, was salutad Caliph by the Syrians. Henceforward Mo'áwiya's interests began to prosper, and the prediction of Ka'b-al-Ahbár appeared to accomplish in the near future; while Ali's power began to wane.

The Kharijites.

The truce having been concluded on 13th Safar, 37 A. H. at Siffien, when Ali was returning homeward with his army, a body of 12,000 men had separated themselves from the ranks and marched at some little distance in the same direction as the main body towards Kufa. They murmured at the compromise agreed upon, and were even loud in their reproaches to one another for having abandoned the cause of the Faith to the ungodly compromise. These were the Khárijites (Khárijite means one who turns out rebelling against the established tenets of a religion,—a Sectary or Schismatic or Seceder), who had refused fighting at the battlefield

after the trick played by the enemy, and had pressed the Caliph to accept the arbitration and the particular arbitrator. Approaching Kufa, these seceders encamped at a village named Harora in the vicinity of Kufa. Their religious notions were developed into fanatic zeal that the Believers were all of equal standard and nobody should exercise authority over another. They formulated their creed with the phrase 'La hukm illálilláh,' *i. e.* no judgement but Lord's alone; consequently there should be no Caliph nor oath of allegiance sworn to any human being. They blamed Ali as having sinned in consenting to refer to human judgment that which belonged to God alone, and demanded of him repentance for his apostasy. They said that Ali ought not to have given quarter to the enemy, who could be pursued and put to sword. Proceeding to their camp, the Caliph firmly remonstrated with them, that they had given wrong interpretation to the phrase La hukm illá lilláh; and that in accepting the arbitration he had followed the provisions contained in the Qurán; and that he had committed no sin to repent of. He pointed out that the sin lay at their own door, because with their persistent obstinancy they refused to continue fighting with the enemy; and that with their revolting attitude they forced him to call back Málik-al-Ashtar, who was beating the enemy back to their camp and was at the point of gaining a complete victory; and that they pressed him to accept the arbitration and the particular arbitrator. He added that he entertained, however, that the arbitrators were as well bound by the terms of the truce to deliver their judgment righteously in accordance with the Qurán; and that if the judgment turned out to be in disregard of righteousness, he would at once reject it and would again set out against the enemy. Concluding, he said that it was wrong of them if they desired him to break the truce, which they themselves had driven him to arrange. To all this reasoning they simply answered, 'we do admit of our sin, but we have repented of our apostasy; and thou must repent of it likewise.' To this Ali replied

that he being a true believer he would not belie himself by admitting his apostasy.

The Sectaries were not satisfied and they resolved on rebellion; but awaiting the issue of the Umpire's decision, they for the present postponed any overt action. Soon after the judgment of the arbitrators, they determined to raise the standard of revolt and prevailed on Abdalláh b. Wahab, one of their chiefs, to accept (contrary to the principles of their creed) the command, as a temporary expedient, to meet the emergency. Fixing their headquarters at Nehrwán, a few miles from Bagdad, in the month following the arbitration, they began to take their way, to meet at the rendezvous, either singly or in small batches for fear of raising an alarm. Some five hundred malcontents from Bussorah also joined the insurgents at Nehrwán. In the meantime, Ali, having received intelligence of the deceitful arbitration at Duma, took little notice of these fanatic zealots, his thoughts being more occupied with the affairs of Mo'áwiya and raising levies for Syria for the renewal of hostilities. Hearing about the Khárijite insurgents, Ali wrote to them that as he was preparing to march against Mo'áwiya, it was high time for them to join his Standard. To this they sent an insulting reply that they had cast him off as an ungodly heretic unless he acknowledged his apostasy and repented thereof, in which case they would see whether anything could be arranged between them.

Revolt of the Kharijites. 37 A. H.

Ali had commenced his march on Syria when he received tidings that the Khárijites had attempted a raid on Madáen but were beaten back to their camp; that they were committing horrible outrages in the country all around their camp, condemning as impious all those who did not fall in with their sentiments; that they had put to death a traveller who refused to accept their creed, and ripped up his wife who was great with child. The followers of the Caliph, whose families were left behind unprotected at Kufa, apprehend-

The battle of Nehrwan.

ing danger from these barbarous fanatics desired that before proceeding on to Syria these outlaws should be dealt with first. A messenger was sent to make enquiries but he too was put to death by them. Seeing the attitude of the insurgents, Ali thought that immediate measures to check them were necessary; he therefore changed his course eastward, crossed the Tigris and approaching Nehrwán sent a messenger to demand of them the surrender of the murderers. They replied that no particular person was responsible; they all deserved equal merits for the blood of the apostates slain by them. Still Ali, avoiding bloodshed, tried to win over these misguided fanatics by gentle means. He had, therefore, a Standard planted outside of his camp and a proclamation made that the malcontents rallying round it or those who retired to their homes would be safe. The proclamation produced the desired effect. The rebels began to disperse, deserting their camp, till Abdalláh b. Wahab was left with only 1800 adherents, who resolved to fight against the Caliph at any cost. Ali said that those men were the true Khárijites, who would go forth against Islam as quick as an arrow from the bow. At last, headed by their leader, Abdalláh b. Wahab, they desperately rushed upon Ali's army and met their fate. All of them were slain except only nine, who escaped to serve as firebrands to rekindle the future fire. On Ali's side only seven men were killed. The zealots, who had escaped, promulgated their creed and cause in secret at Bussorah and Kufa and appeared in the following year in bands of insurgent fanatics, but were easily put to flight or cut to pieces.

Syrian expedition frustrated.

The Khárijites having been disposed of at Nehrwán, Ali retraced his steps towards the Tigris which he re-crossed with his army to march upon Syria, but the Chiefs of his followers urged him to give the army some rest preparatory to the long journey and to enable them to refit their armour for war with the well equipped enemy. Ali consented to the pro-

posal. They marched back towards Kufa and encamped at Nokheila in the vicinity of the town. A proclamation was made that any one who had any business in the town may leave the Camp for one day returning on the next. In a short time the Camp was almost empty of its soldiers, who all went one after the other to the town. None returning after one day, Ali became impatient and at length himself entering the town harangued the people to go forth with him to the Syrian expedition, but no response was forthcoming and nobody came forward. The Caliph was disappointed and at last the project for the expedition had to be abandoned, never to be resumed.

Affairs in Egypt 38 A. H.

Mohammed † the son of Abu Hozhaifa, a distinguished Companion of the Prophet, was an orphan, his father having been killed at Yamáma. He was adopted by Othmán and was brought up under his care. When he grew up, he asked Othmán, the then Caliph, to give him some Command, but the Caliph would not accede to his demand unless he proved himself on the field capable of undertaking the responsibilities of so important a charge. Dissatisfied with this reply, Mohammed fled to Egypt and took shelter with Abi Sarh the governor. Being a man noted for his piety, Mohammed soon gained great influence over the people at large and in the court. Abi Sarh on the occasion of his proceeding to Medina to the relief of Caliph Othmán, who had demanded succour of him when besieged by the insurgents, entrusted the charge of his office to Mohammed. On his way to Medina, Abi Sarh received intelligence of Othmán's murder and of the accession of Ali to the Caliphate. Being a tyrant and an unprincipled man, his guilty conscience urged him to escape the tribunal of Ali. Abi Sarh, therefore, hurried to Syria to seek refuge with Mo'áwiya and did not go back to Egypt. Thus Mohammed b. Hozhaifa held the government of Egypt till the approach of Qais b. Sa'd the governor elect of Ali. So long as Mohammed held the office, he reproachfully

† Rawdzat-al-Safá.

counted the faults of Othman's character. Before the arrival of Qais to the seat of government, Mohammed, while visiting Amr b. As at Arish, a bordering town, in a friendly invitation, was captured by him and taken as a prisoner to Mo'áwiya, who had deputed Amr for the purpose. Qais assumed the command of Egypt as Ali's viceroy during the absence of Momommed. He was a man of distinction, the son of Sa'd, the son of Obáda the rival of Abubekr at the Saqifa election. He was an able adminis- of trator and acquitted himself of his charge with great prudence. He sagaciously secured the oath of fealty from the Egyptians in behalf of Ali and managed to hold the reins of government firmly. A strong † faction of Othmán's partisans at Kharamba, however, stood aloof demanding loudly the satisfaction for Othmán's blood. He wisely let them alone for the present, waiving even the demand for the tithes. Mo'áwiya, afraid of so wise and firm a ruler commanding on the borders of his frontier, apprehended disadvantages to his designs on Egypt and he made every effort to detach him from his allegiance to Ali, by promises to confirm him in the government of Egypt and to provide good offices to his relatives in the Hejáz. Being a loyal follower of Ali, Qais spurned all his tempting offers. Mo'áwiya, having failed in his attempts to win him over to his side, had recourse to foul play to dislodge him from his position. He gave out that Qais was a friend of his and acted in concert with him He had the report assiduously reach the ears of Ali, on purpose to have the fidelity of Qais doubted by him. To promote the design, he forged a letter meant to have been sent by Qais addressed to Mo'áwiya, wherein Qais agreed not to take measures against the Othmánly party at Kharamba. This letter, as it was intended for, Mo'áwiya managed to let fall into the hands of Ali, and it produced the desired effect. The fidelity of Qais was doubted and he was put to the test by being ordered to take severe steps against the malcontents of Kharamba imme-

† Tabari.

diately. Qais, unaware of the underhand fiction of Mo'áwiya, with his usual sincerity remonstrated against the order. His protest was taken as a proof of his complicity. He was deposed and Mohammed the son of Abubekr was sent to replace him.

Mo'awiya's encroachment upon Egypt. 38 A. H.

As soon as Mohammed b. Abubekr was established in authority (38 A.H.), he began to chase out Othmán's party. These steps caused immediate strifes and dissensions, which led to disorder throughout the country. Desirous of restoring peace, the Caliph wished to change the governor, and, summoning Málik-al-Ashtar from his command at Nisibin, sent him in haste to take over the government of Egypt. Mo'áwiya, who was at the bottom of all the troubles in Egypt, kept himself well informed of even the minutest incidents there. Receiving intelligence of Málik's appointment, Mo'áwiya apprehended frustration of his designs at the hands of this strong and able man, who was already a terror to the Syrians in general and to him in particular. It was a matter of vital importance to Mo'áwiya to get rid of Málik. He therefore instigated a Chief, who lived on the confines of Arabia and Egypt and with whom Málik was to lodge on his way to his seat of government, to poison him, on the promise of immunity, for ever afterwards, from the payment of tithes and revenues which he collected in that quarter. This man, tempted by the vile promises, actually poisoned his unsuspecting guest with so deadly a poison in a cup of honey that Málik died before he could stir out of the house. As soon as Mo'áwiya heard it, he said: 'Verily † God hath armies of honey;' and he immediately sent Amr b. As with six thousand horse to seize upon Egypt in its present disturbed state. Amr gladly hastened to the country of his own conquest and which he had peacefully ruled for years. Reaching Alexandria, he was joined by Ibn Sharigh, the leader of the Othmánly party, and with this combined force he proceeded to engage Moham-

† Abul Fida.

med b. Abubekr, who still retained the name and authority of Governor for Ali. Having been routed by Amr, Mohammed b. Abubekr fell into the hands of his enemies, who inclosed him alive in the skin of an ass and the bundle was thrown into flames to be burnt to ashes. Thus the government of Egypt was lost to Ali and passed into the hands of Amr b. As as viceroy of Mo'áwiya. Ayesha was extremely grieved to hear the cruel fate of her brother at the hands of Amr b. As and Mo'áwiya, and in the agony of her heart she invoked † curses upon them at each and every prayer thereafter. It is said that the roasted head of Ayesha's brother was severed from the body and sent to Ayesha as a present. At the sight of it, she was inconsolable at her brother's fate and thence forward she ate no roasted meat until her death.

Mo'awiya's encroachment upon Bussorah 38 A. H.

Ali was as deeply afflicted at the tragic murder of his faithful General, Málik-al-Ashtar, and the cruel death of Mohammed b. Abubekr, as excited at the treacherous conduct of Mo'áwiya, in encroaching upon Egypt. He felt his helplessness to avenge the wrongs, as he could raise no armies against Mo'áwiya, in spite of all his eloquent speeches, which he vainly made continually for fifty days to move the people to take up arms. His cousin Abdalláh b. Abbás, the governor of Bussorah, leaving the Chancellor in charge of his office, came to Kufa to comfort Ali. Taking advantage of Abdalláh's absence from Bussorah, Mo'áwiya, who was watchful of every opportunity to give trouble to Ali, sent one of his Captains, named Abdalláh Hadzrami, with two thousand horse to seize upon Bussorah. The Charge d'Affaires, not having forces sufficient to stand against the invader, left the city to him and demanded urgent succour from the Caliph. Prompt assistance was sent by Ali under the command of Járiya b. Qidáma. After a hard and bloody contest, Hadzrami was defeated and driven for refuge to a neighbouring castle, which was surrounded

†Abul Fida.

and set on fire. The rebel, along with seventy of his followers, perished in the flames. The city was re-taken by the Caliph's forces and Abdalláh b. Abbás, having in the meantime come back from Kufa, resumed his Office. This was in the 38th year of Hegira.

Other revolts of the Kharijites.

During the same year, the Khárijites in considerable bands, revolted against Ali on five or six occasions, but on each occasion they met the common fate of slaughter and dispersion. The most remarkable of those risings was that of Khirrit, who instigated the Persians, Kurds and Christians of Ahwáz and Ram Hurmuz and raised the standard of rebellion. An army to suppress the revolt was sent from Bussorah. Khirrit was killed in the battle and the Caliph's authority was re-established.

Mo'awiya's aggressive policy. 39 A. H.

In the year 39 A. H. several raids on Ali's territory were made by Mo'áwiya without any result of importance. Sometime the raid was made to ravage the country; sometime to exact the tithes from the people; sometime to show his power in superiority to Ali's. The main object of these inroads was to give annoyance to Ali and, at the same time, to create a sense of insecurity under Ali's rule among his subjects. Some eight or ten raids of the kind were made in different parts of Ali's dominion during the year. For instance: Sofyán b. Awf was sent with a large force to ravage the country round Hit, Anbár and Ain Tamr. Abdalláh b. Mas'ud Fizári was sent to exact tithes from the Bedouines of Taima. Dzohák b. Qais was sent to surprise the citadels of Sa'labiya and Qatqatána. During the pilgrimage season, an officer was deputed to lead the pilgrims in their pilgrimage rites at Mecca. Qotham b. Abbás, Ali's governor, was forced to hold back from performing his duties, while Mo'áwiya's man Othmán b. Sheiba Abdari led the rites. The force, sent by Ali to check this, reached Mecca when the Syrians had retraced their steps homeward. They were, however, pursued and overtaken at Wádi-al-Qora where, after some skirmishing,

they took to flight. Some of them were captured and brought as prisoners to the Caliph, who had them exchanged with his men who were prisoners with Mo'áwiya. Though these raids were not always successful yet the aim with which they were made was gained to a considerable extent, as the people betrayed, now more clearly than ever, their lukewarmness in the cause of Ali, as they would not stir to repel the invaders who forced upon them their allegiance to Mo'áwiya. Once to repel the raiders, Ali's captain had pursued them as far as Ba'lbak, in the heart of the Syrian territory and thence returned unchecked to Iráq via Riqqa. In return for this, Mo'áwiya made an incursion as far as Mossul in Ali's territory and encamped there for several days to show his contempt for the power of Ali. He went back to Damascus without being questioned for his intrusion.

Mo'awiya's raids in Hejaz 40 A. H.

In the beginning of the 40th year of Hegira, Mo'áwiya sent Bosar b. Artáh, a cruel captain of his host, with three thousand horse to seize upon Medina and Mecca, the sacred cities of the Hejáz and to secure for him the allegiance of the inhabitants. When Bosar approached Medina, the governor Abu Ayyub fled to Kufa, and Bosar entered Medina unopposed. Putting some inhabitants to a cruel death, he threatened the leading men to a general massacre if they refused to acknowledge Mo'áwiya as their Caliph. They were thus forced to swear allegiance to Mo'áwiya. Having done this, he passed on to Mecca and enacted the same scene there. Taking the oath of fealty to Mo'áwiya from the citizens of Mecca, the tyrant proceeded to Yemen, where he put to sword some thousands of Ali's adherents. Obeidalláh b. Abbás, Ali's viceroy in Yemen, managed to escape to Kufa but his two little sons were left behind, who fell into the hands of the tyrant, and they were barbarously put to death along with their Bedouin attendant, who ventured to protest against the cold-blooded murder of the boys. Ali, having received intelligence of the incursion, immediately sent an army of

four thousand horse in command of Járiya b. Qidáma but he was too late to stop the outrages. Bosar was already on his way back to Syria, when Ali's army reachad Yemen. Járiya pursued the Syrians to Najrán where they were being hailed with welcome. On his approach, they took to flight, but Járiya put to sword the inhabitants whose complicity in inviting Mo'áwiya's horde was now no secret and who had already risen up against the local governor. Then Járiya proceeded to Mecca in pursuit of the fugitives but they were gone. He forced the Meccans to recall the oath they had recently taken in allegiance to Mo'áwiya, and again do homage to Ali. After this he went to Medina, where Abu-Horeira, of the opposite faction, who led the daily prayers on behalf of Mo'awiya, hid himself somewhere. Járiya made the citizens of Medina swear homage to Hasan the son of Ali, and staying only for a day at Medina he took his way to Kufa. Abu-Horeira reappeared after Járiya's departure and led the prayers as before.

The cruel fate of the two infant sons of Obeidalláh (Ali's cousin) occasioned great grief to their father and mother and it preyed on Ali more, perhaps, than all his other troubles. He invoked the wrath of Heaven on Bosar, praying that he might lose his intellect, and in answer to the prayer he became a hopeless, drivelling lunatic. During his insanity he was always calling for his sword. His friends provided him with one made of wood and another hollow one full of air. The wretch struck his wooden sword against the other and imagined that he killed an enemy at each stroke.

Still there were some more griefs in store for Ali.

Misbehaviour of Abdallah b. Abbas.

Complaints having reached the Caliph of frauds and misappropriation of public money of the Bussorah treasury, the Caliph called upon the Governor to submit the accounts of the Treasury. Abdallàh b. Abbás received the order with scorn, and, without complying with the demand, threw up his office and made good his way to Mecca, carrying great riches with him. He was pursued by the citizens of

Bussorah, but after some fighting he managed to get off to Mecca without further molestation. Ali was greatly mortified at this behaviour of his cousin Abdalláh b. Abbás. Obeidalláh b. Abbás, the late governor of Yemen, who was still staying with Ali, his cousin, was sent to replace Abdalláh.

The defection of Aqil.

About the same time another great calamity befell Ali. "His brother Aqil went over to Mo'áwiya, who received him with open arms, and assigned to him large revenues. Aqil alleged no other excuse for his defection, but that his brother Ali had not entertained him according to his quality." *Simon Ockley's His. Sar. p. 326.*

† "Aqil had complained to Ali of the slenderness of his means, and requested that an addition to his salary might be made him from the public treasury. This Ali refused to do, but upon being repeatedly urged by his brother, he at length desired Aqil to meet him at night, when they would break into the house of a wealthy neighbour, and find ample means for his wants. 'Are you serious?' demanded Aqil, with a mixture of surprise and indignation. 'On the great day of account,' replied Ali, 'how much easier shall I acquit myself against the accusation of a solitary individual, than against the united cry of the whole community of Islam, individually possessed of that property which you wish me to give to thee?' Other writers, however, say, that when Aqil applied to his brother for an augmentation of his pension, the latter desired him to wait for a moment, and withdrawing into his own house, he presently returned with a piece of red-hot iron, which he requested Aqil to hold in his hand. The latter of course declined. 'Nay, then,' said Ali, 'if you cannot sustain the heat which has been produced by man, how can you expect me to expose myself to the fire which God will kindle.' Aqil thus seeing that his application would not be attended to, left Kufa, and joined Mo'áwiya." *Price's Mohammedan History.*

† S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 326.

Designs of the Kharijites to get rid of the rulers.

The period of Ali's Caliphate was one of continued struggles. He was never left to live in peace. The revolt of Ayesha, Talha and Zobair; the rebellion and treacherous outrages of Mo'awiya and Amr b. As; the risings of the Khárijite fanatics; the lukewarmness and apathy of his own people; the unfaithfulness of his cousin Abdalláh b. Abbás and, last of all, the defection of his own brother Aqil affected his spirits a great deal. These troubles crowding rapidly one upon another entirely disturbed his mind.

Still the Khárijites were impatient for the destruction of Ali in particular and the despotic rulers in general as they recognized no power and authority but the Lord's—their creed being formulated by the phrase 'La hukm illa lillah' *i.e.* no command but the Lord's alone. They expected that the ungodly (as they said) rulers *i. e.* Ali and Mo'áwiya would perish of themselves in their strife, and the reign of the Lord would prevail at last. Tired of their long drawn stay, three fanatics, happening to meet at the holy precincts of the Ka'ba, brooded over the blood that had been shed in vain at Nehrwán and other fields of battle and groaned over the ruthless tyranny and apostasy (as they said) pervading throughout the Islamic world. Suddenly an idea brightened the face of one of them with gleaming hopes, and he spoke thus: 'It is useless to bemoan the losses we have sustained, we must act to mend matters. Let not our blood be shed in vain. Let each of us kill one of the three oppressors of the Faithful. Islam may yet be free and the reign of righteousness may yet be established.' The other two warmly approved of the suggestion. The three zealots swore to a compact for the sacrifice of their lives in the cause, and they said that no other plan would work better to restore unity and peace in Islam than the destruction of the three ambitious apostates *viz.* Mo'áwiya, Amr b. As, and Ali. Each of them undertook to dispatch his allotted victim on a certain fixed day at an appointed hour with a poisoned weapon to

ensure a mortal blow.

The three conspirators *viz*. Borak b. Abdalláh Tymi, Amr b. Bekr Tymi, and Abd-al-Rahmán b. Muljim undertook to kill Mo'áwiya, Amr b. As and Ali respectively. The third Friday in the month of next Ramadzán was fixed as the date for the preparation of the heinous deed at the morning Service in the Mosques at Damascus, Fostát and Kufa. Having poisoned their swords each man took his way, Borak to Damascus, Amr to Fostát and Abd-al-Rahmán to Kufa.

Attempt on the life of Mo'awiya.

Having reached Damascus, Borak mingled with the worshippers in the mosque on the appointed day at the morning Service and stabbed Mo'áwiya in the groin. He considered that the blow was fatal, but it was not so. Mo'áwiya's surgeon examining the wound, declared that his life could be saved either by cautery or by drinking a potion that would render him impotent for life. Mo'áwiya was given his choice either to be cauterized or to drink the draught. He chose the latter and was impotent for the rest of his life. The culprit was instantly seized, mutilated of his hands and feet and suffered to live. He was sent to his home in Bussorah, where some years later he got a son born to him. Then Ziyád, the then governor of Bussorah, put him to death saying, 'Villain! Thou hast begotten a son thyself and hast made the Caliph impotent. Thou shouldst die.'

Attempt on the life of Amr b. As.

Amr b. Bekr, the second of the conspirators, was in the mosque at Fostát on the fixed Friday of the month of Ramadzán. He dealt a blow at the Imám, who was leading the Service. The victim fell dead, but he was not Amr b. As, who could not attend on this occasion to lead the prayers on account of colic pain, which proved so fortunate for him that day. It was Khárija, who officiated for Amr b. As. The assassin was caught and taken before Amr to his court, where he discovered his mistake. 'I intended thee, O tyrant!' cried the prisoner to Amr b. As, who calmly

retorted, 'Thou intended me, but the Lord intended thee,' and ordered his immediate execution.

Attempt on the life of Ali.

The third of these conspirators, Abd-al-Rahmán b. Muljim, having reached Kufa, put up with a woman, a beautiful maid of the Khárijite sect, whose father, brother and other near relations were all killed at Nehrwán. Abd-al-Rahmán became violently enamoured of this damsel and made proposals of marriage to her. Qettámah, as she was named, answered that her spouse could only be a man who would bring her a dowry consisting of Ali's head, 3000 dirhams of silver, a slave and a maid. He instantly accepted the conditions. Qettámah then introduced him to two other miscreants named Werdan, a Khárijite bent upon avenging himself on Aii and to another named Shuheib, both of whom gladly undertook to assist Abd-al-Rahmán in his nefarious design. Proceeding to the mosque on the appointed Friday early in the morning when Ali appeared to lead the Service, Werdan and Ibn Muljim managed to take their stand just behind him. As soon as the Service was begun, Werdan aimed a blow at Ali but missed him. Next the blow from Abd-al-Rahmán was instantly struck with fatal precision.

It struck Ali upon his head just in the same place where he had received a wound in a battle in the life-time of the Prophet. In the confusion which ensued, the three assassins managed to escape. Werdan ran to his house, followed by a pursuer who overtook and killed him. Shuheib made good his escape and was never heard of again. Abd-al-Rahmán concealed himself for some time. When Ali was asked as to who was his assassin, he answered, 'You shall soon see him.' Abd-al-Rahmán, having been discovered hidden in a corner of the Mosque with his blood-stained sword, was asked if he was the culprit. He faltered for a moment but was constrained by his own conscience to confess the guilt. He was dragged forth and brought before Ali, who consigned him to the custody of his son Hasan, directing with his accustomed clemency: 'Let him not want for anything, and if I die of

my wound, let his death be by a single blow.' The wouud was pronounced to be fatal, as it proved. Ali felt thirsty and a cup full of syrup was brought to him. At the same time the prisoner asked for some water to drink. With a generosity, which is past understanding and which was a characteristic trait of Ali throughout his life, Ali had his own cup of syrup made over to him to drink.

Ali's presages about his death.

During all the month of Ramadzán, in which he was killed, Ali had several presages of his death, and in private, among his friends, used occasionally to let drop some words to that purpose. Once, after he had undergone a great deal of uneasiness, he was heard to say, 'Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, for there is no remedy against death.' In short, Friday, the 19th of this month being come, he went out of his house early in the morning to go to the mosque, and it was observed that the house-hold birds made a great noise as he passed through his yard; and that one of his slaves having thrown a cudgel at them to make them quiet, he said to him, 'Let them alone, for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death.' *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 328.*

The death of Ali. 40 A. H.

Ali was wounded on Friday, the 19th of Ramadzán in 40 A.H. in the Mosque at Kufa, where he had been to conduct the usual morning Service. He was immediately brought to his house. He survived three days. "He called his sons Hasan and Hosain to his bedside and counselled them to be steadfast in piety and resignation to the will of God, and to be kind to their younger brother (Abbás) the son of his Hanifite wife. After that he wrote his testament, and continuing to repeat the name of the Lord to the end so breathed his last." *W. Muir's Annals p. 414.* He died of his wound on Monday, the 21st of Ramadzán 40 A. H. at the age of sixtythree. "His remains were interred about five miles from Kufa; and in after times a magnificent tomb, covered by a Mosque, with a splendid dome, rose over his grave,

and it became the site of a city, called Mashed Ali, or the Sepulchre of Ali, and was enriched and beautified by many Persian monarchs." *W. Irving's Succ. of Mohd. p. 187.* It is said that the Sepulchre of Ali was kept hid during the reign of the Omyyads.

Ali's literary works.

"Among all the Mohammedans alike, Ali has a great reputation for wisdom. There is extant of his a 'Centiloquium,' or a hundred sentences which have been translated out of Arabic into Turkish and Persian. There is likewise a collection of verses by him under the title of 'Anwar-al-Aqil.' And in the Bodleian library there is a large book of his sentences. But his most celebrated piece is that entitled 'Jafr wa Jáme'. It is written on parchment in a mystic character intermixed with figures, which narrate or typify all the grand events that are to happen from the foundation of Mohammedanism to the end of the world. This parchment, which is deposited in the hands of his family, has not up to this time been deciphered. Ja'far Sádiq has indeed succeeded in partially interpreting it; but the entire explication of it is reserved for the twelfth Imám, who is surnamed by way of excellence, the Mahdi, or 'Grand Director.' *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 332.*

The scholar of the Arabic language owes great gratitude to Ali, who regulated the correct composition of the language by introducing † its Grammar, the absence of which was a great defect to the literature, and its want was keenly felt by the literary man.

Anecdotes of Ali.

‡ The following anecdotes of Ali are chiefly extracted from 'Oriental Table Talk,' translated by Jonathan Scott Esqr. See Ouseley's 'Oriental Collections':—

Once when Mohammed and Ali were eating dates together, the former placed all the shells on the plate of the latter unperceived, and on finishing their repast, he said, 'He who has most shells must have eaten most.' 'No,' says Ali, 'he surely must have eaten most who has

† Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti, p. 184. ‡ Ibid.

swallowed the shells also.'

A Jew said to the venerable Ali, in argument on the truth of their respective religions, 'You had not even deposited your prophet's body in the earth when you quarrelled among yourselves.' Ali replied, 'Our divisions proceeded from the loss of him, not concerning our faith; but your feet were not yet dry from the mud of the Red Sea when you cried unto Moses, saying, make us Gods like those of the idolaters, that we may worship them.' The Jew was confounded.

A person complained to Ali, saying, 'A man has declared, he dreamed that he slept with my mother, may I not inflict upon him the punishment of the law?' 'What is it?' Ali replied, 'Place him in the sun, and beat his shadow; for what can be inflicted on an imaginary crime but imaginary correction?'

Ingenious decision of Ali.

† The following decision is creditable to the ingenuity of Ali:—Two travellers sat down to dine; the one had five loaves, the other three. A stranger passing by, asked leave to eat with them, and they hospitably agreed thereto. After dinner, the stranger laid down eight pieces of money for his fare, and departed. The owner of the five loaves took up five pieces and left three for the other, who insisted upon getting half. The case was brought before Ali for his decision, and he gave the following judgment: 'Let the owner of the five loaves take seven pieces of money and the other but one.' And this was the exact proportion of what each furnished for the stranger's entertainment; for, dividing each loaf into three shares, the eight loaves gave twentyfour shares, and as they all fared alike, each person's proportion was a third of the whole or eight shares. The stranger therefore ate seven shares of the five loaves and only one of the three loaves; and in this manner the Caliph divided the money between the owners. *S. Ockley's His. Sar. p. 336.*

‡ The signet ring of Ali bore this inscription, 'Ex-

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† Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti's Tárikh-al-Kholafa p. 183.
‡ Ibid.

cellent is the Omnipotent God,' or according to another tradition. 'The Kingdom belongs to the only Mighty Lord.' † Ali used to sweep the Public Treasury and then pray within it, in the hope that it would be testified in his favour that he did not keep the State property within it withheld from the Moslems.

‡ Five hundred and eighty six traditions are ascribed to Ali, on the direct authority of the Apostle of God.

Some Traditions from Tárıkh-al-Kholafá of Jaláluddin-as-Suyuti as translated from the original Arabic
by
MAJOR H. S. JARRET,
Calcutta Edition,
1881.

Regarding the Merits of Ali.

1. The Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal says: There hath not come down to us regarding the merıts of any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, what hath been transmitted concerning Alı. (Al Hákim.)
2. Ibn Asákir from Ibn Abbás says: There hath not been revealed in the Book of God regarding any one what hath been revealed concerning Ali, and that 300 (three hundred) verses have been revealed concerning Ali.
3. At-Tabráni and Ibn Abi Hátim record from Ibn Abbás that he said: The Lord never revealed the words 'O True Believers' but that Ali was understood to be the lord and chief of them; and verily the Lord hath reproved the Companions of the Prophet in various places, but hath never mentioned Ali save with approval.
4. At-Tirmizhi, An-Naṣái and Ibn Mája from Habshi b. Jonáda say that the Apostle of God said: Ali is a part of me and I of Ali.

† Major Jarret's trans. of Suyuti, p. 183.
‡ Ibid p. 172.

5. At Tabráni records in the Awsat from Jábir b. Abdalláh that the Apostle of God said: The people are of various stocks but I and Ali are of one stock.
6. At-Tabráni records in the Awsat and Saghir from Omm-Selma that she narrates, 'I heard the Apostle of God say: Ali is with the Qurán and the Qurán with Ali, they shall not be divided until they arrive at the fountain of Kauthar in Paradise'.
7. Ibn Sa'd records on the authority of Ali that he said: By Alláh a verse of the Qurán was never revealed but I know regarding what it was revealed and where it was revealed and concerning whom it was revealed, for my Lord hath given unto me a wise heart and an eloquent tongue.
8. Ibn Sa'd and others on the authority of Abu Tofail record that Ali said: Ask ye me regarding the Book of God, for verily there is not a verse but I know whether it was revealed by night or by day, in the plains or on the mountains.
9. At Tirmizhi and Al-Hákim record from Ali that the Apostle of God said: I am the city of Knowledge and Ali is its gate.
10. Ibn Mas'ud says that the Prophet said: To look upon Ali is Devotion.
11. Ibn Asákir on the authority of Caliph Abubekr records that the Prophet said: Looking upon Ali is worship.
12. Muslim records on the authority of Ali that he said: By Him who hath cleft the seed and created the soul, verily the Prophet promised me that none but a true believer should love me, and none but a hypocrite hate me.
13. At-Tirmizhi from Abu Sa'id al Khudri says that he said: We used to distinguish the hypocrites by their hatred of Ali.
14. At-Tabráni from Omm Selma says that the Apostle of God said: He who hath loved Ali, verily he hath loved me, and he who hath hated Ali, verily he hath

hated me, and who hath hated me, verily he hath hated the Lord.

15. Abu Ya'la and Al-Bazzár from Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás say that the Apostle of God said: Who grieveth Ali, grieveth me.
16. Ahmad records and Al Hákim verifying it on the authority of Omm Selma that she narrates, 'I heard the Apostle of God say: He who hath reviled Ali, verily he hath reviled me.'
17. Sai'd b. Al-Mosyyeb says that Omar b. Al-Khattáb used to beg God to preserve him from a perplexing case which the father of Al-Hasan was not present to decide; and that Omar said: None of the Companions used to say 'ask ye of me', except Ali.
18. At-Tabráni says in the Awsat from Ibn Abbás that he said: Ali possessed 18 eminent qualities which belonged to no other of this people.
19. Al-Bazzár records on the authority of Sa'd, that the Apostle of God said to Ali: It is not lawful for anyone to be in the Mosque, while under the obligation of performing a total ablution, except for me and for thee.
20. Abu Ya'la from Abu-Horeira says that Omar b. al-Khattáb said: Verily Ali hath been endowed with three qualities, of which had I but one, it would be more precious to me, than were I given high bred camels. It was asked of him what they were; he replied: His marriage with Fátema, the daughter of the Prophet: His remaining in the Mosque while that is permitted to him, which is not lawful for me; and his carrying the Standard on the day of Khaibar.
21. The two Sheikhs (Bokhári and Muslim) record on the authority of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, that the Apostle of God left Ali b. Abi Talib behind, as his Vicegerent during the expedition of Tabuk, and Ali said, O Apostle of God, dost thou leave me behind among the women and children? He repied: Art thou not content to be to me in the relation of Aaron to Moses, save that there shalt be no prophet after me?

22. And from Sahl b. Sa'd that the Apostle of God said on the day of Khaibar: I will surely give the Standard tomorrow to a man, at whose hands the Lord will give victory, one who loveth God and His prophet and whom God and his prophet love; and the people passed the night in perplexity as to the one among them to whom it would be given. And when they entered upon the dawn, they went early to the Apostle of God, each of all of them hoping that it would be given to him, but he said: Where is Ali the son of Abu Talib? They said to him, 'he complaineth of pain in his eyes.' He replied, 'then send for him;' and they brought him and the Apostle of God spat upon his eyes and prayed for him, and he was healed so that it was as if he had no pain, and he gave him the Standard.
23. Muslim records on the authority of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, that when this verse 'Let us call together, our sons and your sons etc. *Sur. iii-54* was revealed, the Apostle of God summoned Ali, Fátema, al-Hasan and Hosain, and said, O God! these are my family.
24. At-Tirmizhi and al-Hákim verified on the authority of Boreida that the Apostle of God said: Verily the Lord enjoined upon me the love of four men, and declared unto me that He loved them. They said to him, 'O Apostle of God, name them to us' He replied: Ali is among them, this he said three times, and Abu Zharr and Miqdád and Salmán.
25. Abu No'aim records in the Daláel, on the authority of the father of Ja'far b. Mohammed that two men having an altercation, were brought before Ali who sat himself at the foot of a wall, and a man said to him 'the wall will fall down,' and Ali said, 'Go to......God is a sufficient protector' and he decided between them, and arose, and then the wall fell.
26. At-Tabráni records in the Awsat and Abu No'aim in the Daláel on the authority of Zádán, that Ali was relating a tradition when a man accused him of speaking falsely, and Ali said to him, 'shall I curse thee if I

have lied' and he said 'curse,' and Ali cursed him. and he did not quit the place till his sight left him.

27. Abul Qásim-al-Zajjáji narrates in his Dictations that Ali composed a work on the principles of the Arabic language, the Grammar of the Arabic language.

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